

Mapping the Market for Sex with Trafficked Minor Girls in Minneapolis: Structures, Functions, and Patterns

Full Report: Preliminary Findings



WFMN.ORG

UROC | Urban Research and
Outreach-Engagement Center

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
Driven to DiscoverSM

uroc.umn.edu

Othayonih Research



othayonihresearch.com

Mapping the Market for Sex with Trafficked Minor Girls in Minneapolis: Structures, Functions, and Patterns

September 2014

By

Lauren Martin, Director of Research, University of Minnesota Urban Research Outreach/Engagement Center (Principal Investigator)

Alexandra Pierce, President, Othayonih Research (Principal Investigator)

Ana Isabel Gabilondo and Girija Tulpule served as research assistants. Retired Commander Nancy Dunlap gathered Minneapolis Police data. Stephen Peyton geo-coded the data, created maps and conducted special analysis. Fred Maceno assisted with data entry. Tammy Owens provided support for some interviews.

The project was funded through a grant by the Women's Foundation of Minnesota. Additional support was provided by The University of Minnesota's Children, Youth & Family Consortium Scholars' Program. In kind support was provided by Othayonih Research and the UMN's Urban Research Outreach-Engagement Center.

Report authors and full citation format:

Lauren Martin (PI), Alexandra Pierce (PI), Stephen Peyton, Ana Isabel Gabilondo, and Girija Tulpule. (2014). *Mapping the Market for Sex with Trafficked Minor Girls in Minneapolis: Structures, Functions, and Patterns*. Full report: Preliminary Findings (available at uroc.umn.edu/sextrafficking). September 2014

Abridged citation:

Martin & Pierce et al. (2014). Mapping the Market for Sex with Trafficked Minor Girls in Minneapolis: Structures, Functions, and Patterns. Full report: Preliminary Findings (available at uroc.umn.edu/sextrafficking). September 2014

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research would not have been possible without the support, guidance and input of numerous individuals and agencies. The Minneapolis Police Department provided us with access to case files and spent much time sharing their expertise with our team. In addition to funding, the Women’s Foundation of Minnesota provided design support and acted as a sounding-board. Othayonih Research and the UROC provided in-kind work and staffing support.

Many community-based nonprofit organizations provided guidance in framing, developing, and providing input for the project, including (in alphabetical order):

Amicus Radius Program, Division of Indian Work, Harriet Tubman Center, Hennepin County Sheriff’s Office, The Link, Minnesota Indian Women’s Resource Center, Northside Women’s Space (NWS) at Kwanzaa Community Church, the PRIDE Program of the Family Partnership, StreetWorks Collaborative, and many other organizations that preferred not to be named.

We thank the following individuals for their wisdom, support, advice and critiques of our work:

Trudee Able-Peterson	Holly Henning
Deputy Chief Kris Arneson	Mark Kappelhoff
Terry Bach	Suzanne Koeplinger
Heidi Barajas	Lori Lindgren
Kim Borton	Anna Orr
James DeSota	Josephine Pufpaff
Pamela Dewitt-Meza	Artika Roller
Jerry Dieffenbach	Lee Roper-Batker
Linda EagleSpeaker	Sgt. Sherral Schmidt
Laurel Edinburgh	Susan Segal
Commander Bruce Folkens	Kari Smalkoski
April Foster	Sgt. Grant Snyder
Joy Friedman	Anne Taylor
Rev. Dr. Alika Galloway	Toni Weinbeck
Mary Beth Hanson	Terry Williams

While we benefited greatly from widespread community support, input and guidance, any errors in this report are the responsibility of the lead authors.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements 3

Table of Contents 4

Table of Figures..... 5

Introduction..... 6

Organization of the report 7

A note about language and terminology 9

What do we mean by “mapping the market”? 10

Research Methods..... 13

Criminal justice data 14

In-depth interviews 17

Study Limitations..... 22

Key Findings..... 24

Who is involved? 24

Where sex trafficking occurs 36

How the market works 49

Shifts in media coverage..... 81

Conclusions & recommendations 84

Youth services..... 86

Systems coordination 87

Prevention 87

TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Common understanding of commercial sex markets 11

Figure 2: Number of MPD sex trafficking investigations, January 2008-September 2013..... 15

Figure 3: Interviews completed 18

Figure 4: The qualitative analysis process 20

Figure 5: Major content categories (i.e. nodes) in interviews..... 21

Figure 6: Range and average age of people in MPD cases 25

Figure 7: Age distribution of facilitators (n=49) in MPD Cases 25

Figure 8: Age distribution of victims in MPD Cases (n=73)..... 26

Figure 9: Age distribution of sex buyers in MPD cases (n=23) 26

Figure 10: Racial representation, poverty, and purchasing power of individuals in MPD cases. 28

Figure 11: Average age, by role and racial category 29

Figure 12: Total number of MPD contacts 30

Figure 13: Prior criminal history in MPD records 31

Figure 14: History of narcotics involvement of victims, sex buyers and facilitators 31

Figure 15: Reported victim status 32

Figure 16: Interviewees’ references to the people involved 33

Figure 17: Metro area recruitment and transaction locations 39

Figure 18: Minneapolis recruitment locations, by poverty rate 40

Figure 19: Metro area residential locations--victims, facilitators, and sex buyers 41

Figure 20: Minneapolis residential locations--facilitators and victims..... 43

Figure 21: Minneapolis residential locations by poverty 45

Figure 22: Types of locations where victims are recruited 47

Figure 23: Basic market structure of DMST in Minneapolis 51

Figure 24: Recruitment process 62

Figure 25: Continuum of operational complexity..... 69

Figure 26: Operation types by community 79

Figure 27: Media coverage of domestic minor sex trafficking, Twin Cities 2007-2013 81

Figure 28: Five most covered cases, Twin Cities’ media 2007-2013 82

INTRODUCTION

The trafficking of girls under age 18 into the sex trade (also known as domestic minor sex trafficking) has received increased attention from policy makers, law enforcement, service providers, advocates, and funders in Minnesota over the past several years. In July 2011, the Minnesota State Legislature passed Safe Harbor for Youth legislation, which had a sunrise clause for implementation by August 2014. The Minnesota Departments of Health and Public Safety worked with the State Human Trafficking Task Force to develop *No Wrong Door*, a plan for coordinated and comprehensive services for trafficking victims. Implementation has begun with the hiring of the Safe Harbor/No Wrong Door Director in the Minnesota Department of Health's Injury and Violence Prevention unit, and the selection of Regional Navigators responsible for ensuring that all victims receive appropriate assistance and trauma-centered services.

No Wrong Door is a critical step for early intervention to reduce the harms of domestic minor sex trafficking on Minnesota youth. But, what is the larger system that exploits juveniles through sex trafficking? Who is involved? Where does it happen? And, how does it work? Empirical knowledge of the broader market forces through which youth are exploited is critical to providing a solid basis for Minnesota's efforts toward intervention and prevention of exploitation of youth in commercial sex and sex trafficking. We conducted this study to answer these questions. The project received funding from the Women's Foundation of Minnesota, internal University of Minnesota funding, and the support of a broad coalition of agencies and individuals.

We began with the understanding that the sex trade is an industry, and as such, it operates on market principles. Like other markets, the market for sex with juveniles is structured by demand, supply, and a process through which the supply (or "product") is developed, managed, and delivered. *Sex buyers* (the "demand") enter the market with money and power. Pimps, traffickers, and others that assist them (transporters, watchers, enforcers, etc.) profit by linking sex buyers to *juvenile victims* (the "product") for sale. Because of the multiple roles involved in this activity, we refer to these individuals as *facilitators*. Facilitators recruit a "supply" of juveniles through systematic exploitation of specific needs and vulnerabilities of youth, sometimes described as "push/pull factors."

This study sought to understand the "who, where, and how" aspects of market operations. Who are the people involved in the market (victims, facilitators, and sex buyers)? Where does the market happen? Where are victims recruited? Where do sexual transactions take place? What are the residential locations of facilitators, victims, and sex buyers? "Where" also includes categories of places where sex trafficking activities occur such as hotels, schools, private residences, clubs, etc. Most importantly, we wanted to understand how the market functions. How do the operational structures and mechanisms derive profit from the commercial sexual exploitation of juveniles?

Our data collection and analysis produced a great deal of information, which we are continuing to review and analyze. This report provides an overview of our findings and it is a first step in sharing the rich and detailed information we have collected. We expect to produce additional reports and articles. Some of what we learned confirms what we already knew about sex trafficking, particularly

characteristics of victims. However, our market framework yielded new insights about the forces behind commercial sexual exploitation of youth and domestic minor sex trafficking. Therefore, much of what we learned and describe in this report is new.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

We begin the report by providing background on the issue of domestic minor sex trafficking in Minneapolis and Minnesota with some reference to legislative action and to the empirical literature. Next we describe our research methods and limitations of the study.

In the main body of the report we share our findings about the “who, where, and how” of domestic minor sex trafficking. In each section of our findings we explain which sources and data analysis methods were used. After a thorough discussion, each section concludes with a summary of main points.

Our findings start with a description of *who* is involved in domestic minor sex trafficking. There are three broad categories of people: market facilitators (those in the business of selling commercial sex with juveniles), juvenile victims, and sex buyers.

Next we identify *where* domestic minor sex trafficking happens, in terms of geography and distinct types of locations. We provide maps showing the locations of key variables in the law enforcement data including: where juvenile victims were recruited and solicited, locations where sexual transactions occurred, and the generalized residential location of sex buyers, facilitators, and victims. Readers should be aware that actors in the market deliberately try to evade law enforcement, and these maps are based on law enforcement data ONLY. Because domestic minor sex trafficking is illegal, hidden, and stigmatized, the maps reflect only information resulting from calls to the police and police investigations. However, our interviews provided a great deal of qualitative information about the types of locations involved, which confirmed much of what we found in law enforcement data.

Then we examine *how* the market works. This includes how sex trafficking operations are structured and how they function. Our findings are based on an analysis of how youth are recruited, captured, and marketed by domestic minor sex trafficking operations. We describe how operations use specific business models to connect victims with sex buyers.

Our final section of findings is an analysis of media coverage of domestic minor sex trafficking since June 2007.

The report concludes with a summation of our findings with some recommendations for prevention, intervention, and disruption of the market for juvenile sex in Minneapolis.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In 1999, the Hofstede Committee produced a wide-ranging report on what it termed “juvenile prostitution” as a result of the arrest of fifteen members of the Evans family based in Crystal, Minnesota. They were prosecuted for running a juvenile prostitution ring for 17 years with hundreds of girls across at least 24 states and Canada.¹ In 2003, the FBI’s Crimes Against Children Unit identified 13 U.S. cities with a high incidence of what was termed “child prostitution,” designating them as High Intensity Child Prostitution Areas where the FBI would establish Innocence Lost task forces. Minneapolis was one of those cities.² More recent research conducted in Minnesota indicates that commercial sex and sex trafficking involving juveniles is a significant problem in the Twin Cities.³ Likewise, advocates, practitioners in the field, and police highlight juvenile trafficking as a growing problem in this state.

Sex trafficking is also recognized and punishable by Federal and State laws. Under the United States Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000, sex trafficking is defined as:

The recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purposes of a commercial sex act, in which the commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age, (22 USC § 7102; 8 CFR § 214.11(a)).⁴

The TVPA addresses the sex trafficking of U.S. citizens, U.S. Nationals, and foreign-born victims, including both adults and children.

Our report focuses specifically on the trafficking of children within the U.S., as defined in Minnesota Statutes. Regardless of age, Minnesota law does not require that victims of trafficking and/or pimp-controlled prostitution prove they were compelled through force, fraud, or coercion. Rather, Minnesota courts focus on the actions of the suspected trafficker. Imbedded in the state’s prostitution codes, Minnesota’s trafficking law defines sex trafficking as:

Receiving, recruiting, enticing, harboring, providing, or obtaining by any means an individual to aid in the prostitution of the individual, or receiving profit or anything of value, knowing or having reason to know it is derived from sex trafficking.⁵

Minnesota was the twelfth state in the nation to adopt *Safe Harbor* legislation, The Minnesota Safe Harbor for Sexually Exploited Youth Legislation. This legislation recognizes prostituted juveniles as victims and protects them from arrest for prostitution-related crimes. Juveniles under the age of 18 are automatically considered to be sex trafficking victims in Minnesota, while traffickers and sex buyers are both criminalized as perpetrators of sex trafficking. Minnesota’s *Safe Harbor* provisions:

- Explicitly define prostituted minors under the age of 18 as victims in need of protection;
- Exclude prostituted minors from the definition of a delinquent child;

- Ensure that adequate systems to address prostituted youth are in place by 2014, using a victim-centered state-wide model;
- Increase penalties for facilitators (traffickers, pimps and others who facilitate sex trafficking) and sex buyers to create a funding stream for victims' supportive services.⁶

Minnesota is also a leader in recognizing the need for trauma-centered services for sex trafficking victims. In 2013, the Advocates for Human Rights emphasized this priority in their Safe Harbor Working Group report:

*The Working Group's core values include recognition that trauma-informed, individually-responsive care, combined with prevention strategies and effective victim identification, is the most appropriate response to sexually exploited youth.*⁷

We have summarized a few key points here, but the legislative and policy work currently underway in Minnesota is well described by several reports published in 2013 as well as an e-case produced by the Hubert Project at the University of Minnesota's Humphrey School of Public Affairs.⁸

Implementation of Safe Harbor legislation in Minnesota is guided by the report, *No Wrong Door: A Comprehensive Approach to Safe Harbor for Minnesota's Sexually Exploited Youth*. This report describes some of the policy history behind the passage of Safe Harbor and lays out the statewide approach currently in its first stages of implementation.⁹ The Minnesota Legislature has allocated public dollars toward Safe Harbor and the No Wrong Door model, but not as much as has been deemed necessary for full implementation.

A NOTE ABOUT LANGUAGE AND TERMINOLOGY

It is important to be clear about the terms and definitions used in this report so readers understand what the report addresses, what it does not address, and our reasons for using particular terms and language.

First, our primary funder, the Women's Foundation of Minnesota, asked that we focus our research on understanding how the market for sex with juvenile girls operates. Therefore, we use female pronouns throughout to emphasize this focus to readers. We did not directly gather information about boys and transgender youth, but we know they are also victims in sex trafficking. More research is needed.

Second, we use the language of market operations to describe our findings. We recognize that this language can be jarring and off-putting, and that it is not necessarily language used by those involved in the market. For example, describing a sexually victimized child as a "product" can be unsettling and appear insensitive, but in the marketplace of domestic minor sex trafficking children and youth are the "product" being sold. Other researchers have similarly identified specific operational functions that transform vulnerable girls into "products" for sale.¹⁰

We use market terminology because it reflects facilitators' and sex buyers' treatment of vulnerable youth as objects for sexual gratification and profit rather than human beings with inherent rights. However, we emphasize that this dehumanizing "market operations" language was NOT the language generally used by our sources. We have evidence that sex traffickers and their co-facilitators use dehumanizing language to talk about victims, and some victims use dehumanizing language to talk about themselves and other victims, but the words used are not the same words we use here.

We define commercial sex as the exchange of sex or sexual activity for money, food, drugs, a place to stay or anything else of value. We categorize any juvenile compelled to prostitute or provide transactional sex as a "victim" of commercial sexual exploitation, regardless of the means by which they were compelled. This includes juveniles trafficked by a third party and juveniles involved in what has been termed "survival sex," in which sexual services are traded to fulfill basic needs. Therefore, in this report we use the term "victim" to describe all commercially sexually exploited youth, even though we recognize that many youth involved in commercial sex may not view themselves as victims.

We use the phrase "commercial sexual exploitation" to refer to the broad category of commercialized sexual transactions that were described in our sources. The phrase "domestic minor sex trafficking" is used to describe the formalized system of commercial sexual exploitation that we describe in this report. We use this phrase because our focus is on operations based in Minneapolis and we focused only on the market for commercial sex with minors.

We use the term "facilitator" to describe third parties involved in operations that profit from the sexual sale or exchange of sex or sexual activity with juveniles. This category includes pimps and traffickers (including boyfriends and intimate partners who promote and benefit from their partners' involvement in commercial sex), watchers, transporters, etc. We do not include peer recruiters – youth who recruit their peers into the sex trade – in the facilitator category. While peer recruiting is a significant trend (described in the body of the report), these peers are not necessarily aware of the larger operational structures of sex trafficking, nor are they typically in charge. Many involved in peer recruiting are also victims of sex trafficking.

We use the term "sex buyer" to refer to individuals who purchase or otherwise acquire sex with juveniles. This includes people sometimes referred to as johns, tricks, purchasers, clients, and patrons. In keeping with Minnesota law, we also recognize that sex buyers as well as traffickers/pimps can be facilitators of sex trafficking. However, in our analysis, we separate them from other facilitators due to differences in their basic functional roles.

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY "MAPPING THE MARKET"?

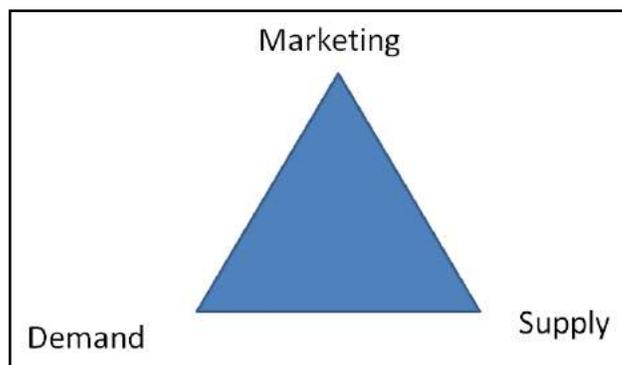
We use the phrase "mapping the market" to signify our approach to describing the extent and function of the market for domestic minor sex trafficking in Minneapolis. Our goal was to create a cognitive and theoretical "map" of how the market components are linked in addition to using GIS

mapping to show how this market manifests in real-world locations. Most previous inquiries into commercial sex and sex trafficking have focused on victimology (common risk factors and risk behaviors observed in victims) and/or a comparison of street versus non-street prostitution in relation to safety. For example, much of the academic literature on prostitution focuses on the ways that different venues shape the experiences of individuals selling sex. There is an ongoing debate about whether so-called “indoor” venues (usually brothels) are safer than “outdoor” venues (typically street prostitution).¹¹ Public policy efforts have generally followed this thinking.

Minnesota-specific research on domestic minor sex trafficking has focused primarily on the experiences and needs of female juveniles exploited in commercial sex and sex trafficking. Some has examined specific sub-groups of youth. Consequently, we know about certain aspects of juvenile commercial sexual exploitation and trafficking in the state. However, little is known about the overall market parameters, the scope and scale of commercial sexual exploitation and trafficking operations, or impacts and context related to geographical factors.

In general, most people think about the market for commercial sex as if it were structured and driven by marketing and advertising to connect buyers (typically called “the demand”) with sellers (typically called “the supply”). Figure 1 shows this relationship.

Figure 1: Common understanding of commercial sex markets



We believe this picture is incomplete and misses the whole operational structure behind sex trafficking. In this study, we looked at commercial sex involving juvenile girls as a set of business activities that occur within the framework of an illegal market. The operational structure of these activities is what we describe (or “map”) through our research.

We argue that like all other markets, the market for sex with juveniles is based upon principles of supply and demand, with the potential to extract profit from providing supply to meet demand. Like many commercial markets, a third party (or parties) often facilitate the market exchange and extract profit.

The “demand” in this market is sex buyers, people who purchase juveniles for sex or sexual activity. The “supply” is underage minors, who are “processed” to be sold to buyers as commercial sex “products,” thus generating income for the facilitator.

It is important to understand that both supply and demand are governed by specific market conditions. Market conditions may include market facilitators of various kinds who control the supply, connect with the demand, and take a profit. Market conditions may also include specific vulnerabilities and/or environments that normalize exploitation, coercion, and brutal violence against vulnerable young people.

The market for sex also has many market segments that affect and are affected by market conditions. For example, the level of risk and cost for sex with a minor girl advertised online, in which the sex buyer meets the girl at a hotel room reserved by a trafficker’s assistant, will be different than the level of risk and cost for sex with a juvenile forcibly held in a house by multiple gang members.

To our knowledge, this research is a first-of-its-kind approach to understanding how the overall market for domestic minor sex trafficking manifests in a single city, Minneapolis. We believe that a deeper understanding of the interactions between market structure, market forces, market segments, and operational functions will help orient victim services and prevention and intervention activities. Even more, it may help to interrupt sex trafficking operations and illuminate their interactions with sex buyer demand.

RESEARCH METHODS

To ground the research in real-world perspectives, ensure validity, and gather deep and accurate information, we utilized community-based participatory action research methods.¹² This approach has been widely recognized as valuable in producing findings that are useful for practical application in solving complex problems. A critical aspect of this approach is the building of trust through ongoing relationships with and input from a wide range of stakeholders.

Consistent with this research approach, we based the study on five data sources:

- Minneapolis Police Department case information related to cases of prostituted and/or trafficked juveniles from January 2008 through October 2013;
- Criminal background searches of the MPD's Computer Assisted Police Records System (CAPRS) for prior police contacts by the prostituted/trafficked juveniles and suspects (traffickers and sex buyers) identified in MPD case records;
- Hennepin County District Court data related to cases of prostituted and/or trafficked juveniles from January 2008 through October 2013;
- Interviews with adults who have knowledge of domestic minor sex trafficking and/or that work directly with prostituted and trafficked minor youth, with a focus on girls; and
- Media coverage related to domestic minor sex trafficking from June 20, 2007 through December 31, 2013.

Each of these data sources has inherent strengths and weaknesses in its ability to shed light on the overall sex trafficking market in Minneapolis. In order to overcome the inherent weaknesses in any one data source we used an analysis method called triangulation. This means that we combined multiple data sources comparing one to the others in order to create, verify and validate our overall picture of the market and how it functions.

This project was submitted to the University of Minnesota IRB for review, even though the purpose of our study was to understand patterns and trends in existing data, rather than collecting identifiable information about specific individuals.¹³

Our specific research questions for this project were:

Who is involved in the market for sex with trafficked minor girls in Minneapolis?

- Who are the victims?
- Who are the facilitators?
- Who are the purchasers of juveniles for sex (i.e. sex buyers)?

Where do activities related to the market for sex with trafficked minor girls occur in the Minneapolis?

- What communities are affected?
- How do geographies intersect with victims, traffickers and purchasers?

- How does juvenile commercial sex trafficking manifest in specific geographies?

How is domestic minor sex trafficking in Minneapolis accomplished?

- What are the methods of recruitment?
- How do traffickers control their supply of victims?
- How do purchasers find juveniles for sex?

Additional questions that we hoped to answer if the data were available included:

- What is the relationship between educational attainment and domestic minor sex trafficking?
- How does truancy from school relate to juvenile commercial sex or sex trafficking?
- How does involvement in juvenile commercial sex or sex trafficking interrupt educational attainment?
- What are the broader neighborhood conditions of geographic locales identified by the study?

Below we describe each of the data sources used for this project: criminal justice data; interviews; and media coverage. Then we describe how we analyzed the different types of information (narrative/text, numerical, and geographic) collected as data for this project.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE DATA

The research team collected and analyzed three distinct types of public criminal justice data: case reports generated by the Minneapolis Police Department, criminal history data in MPD’s Computer-Assisted Police Records System (CAPRS), and court summaries generated by Hennepin County District Court. When extracting data describing juveniles from these records, the juveniles’ names were redacted. We were not able to review cases prosecuted at the Federal level. There may be additional information about Minneapolis and the Metropolitan area in these cases.

Minneapolis Police Department case records

Through a data sharing agreement between the University of Minnesota and the Minneapolis Police Department (MPD), a retired MPD Commander was contracted to access MPD cases related to domestic minor sex trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation of juvenile victims. Criteria for case selection limited cases to those investigated under the following statutes whenever a minor was found engaged in commercial sex:

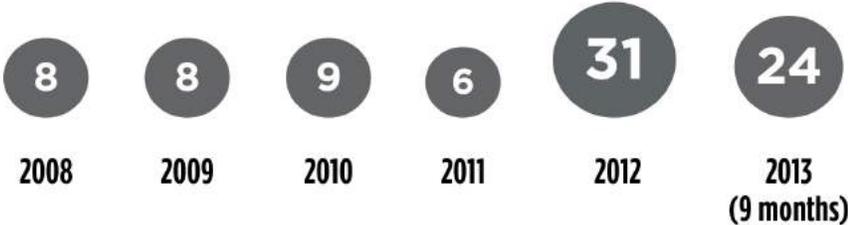
- Prostitution;
- Promotion of prostitution;
- Soliciting a minor;
- Soliciting a Child Under 15;
- Criminal Sexual Conduct –rape;
- Criminal Sexual Conduct –molestation;
- Sex trafficking.

The contractor reviewed all selected cases to ensure that they pertained to juvenile commercial sex and trafficking. She redacted juveniles’ private information and then provided the research team printed case summaries and in a few cases, certain supplemental materials. Our purpose was to gather information about patterns, trends and networks, we reviewed all case summaries and those interview transcripts that contained further information. The research team has only one copy of each document.

A total of 161 cases met the criteria for case selection, of which only 86 clearly pertained to juvenile involvement in commercial sex and/or sex trafficking. The other 75 were deemed not relevant to our study because they did not involve commercial sex and sex trafficking and so are not included in our analysis. The excluded cases included crimes against children such as indecent exposure, in appropriate touching, molestation attempts, and rape. The contractor entered basic information from the 86 relevant cases into an Excel spreadsheet, including the race, age, sex, and address of victims and suspects (sex buyers and facilitators) when available. Based on case content, the roles of individuals in MPD cases were re-coded to conform to our three categories. This was necessary because prior to 2011, girls could be, and sometimes were, arrested for prostitution and listed in the case as a “suspect.” Thus, as per the definitions in our study, this person would be re-coded as a “victim.”

Addresses within Minneapolis city limits were generalized to the block level, and those outside city limits were generalized to city only. Names of suspected perpetrators were not included in the spreadsheet, even though these are public data. Figure 2 illustrates the annual number of sex trafficking-related cases investigated by Minneapolis Police from 2008 to September 2013.

Figure 2: Number of MPD sex trafficking investigations, January 2008-September 2013



Almost half of the relevant Minneapolis Police Department case records (45 of 86) contained very little detailed information beyond demographics. Case records specific to an investigative unit within the MPD, such as the Sex Crimes or Child Abuse units, tended to contain more detailed information about individuals than cases recorded by traffic and patrol officers. This is not surprising, as investigative units serve an investigative role. Some cases from 2013 contained limited detail if they were active investigations at the time of our data collection. Some cases were also departmental assists of other agencies and therefore contained limited information.

Based on redacted MPD records, the research team added information to the Excel spreadsheet created by the contractor, including the trafficking activity, charges laid against individuals named in the case, any details about how operations were structured and functioned, general descriptions of the people involved, and descriptions of victim vulnerabilities. Additional address or geographic location information contained within the body of police reports, particularly the locations of commercial sexual transactions, were also entered into an Excel worksheet for geo-coding and GIS mapping.

When reading the content of case files we also identified a number of ways that cases came to the attention of police. These include: report from family and/or friend of a missing child, third-party calls to 911, police sting activity (either street-based or from online advertisements), patrol car observation, and investigations of one case leading to another. Almost all of the relevant MPD cases contained basic demographic information about the people involved in the case, including age, race, gender and residence at time of arrest.

Most cases involved two of the three categories of individuals involved in the sex trafficking marketplace: either a pimp/trafficker or a sex buyer, and a victim of sex trafficking. Very few described people in all three categories. For example, most sting operations in which the police acted as a sex buyer identified only victims. So-called “reverse-stings” in which the police pose as a victim, typically online, more often identified sex buyers. Cases that came to the attention of police through the report of a third party usually identified one or more victims and a suspected pimp/trafficker, though at times people assisting the pimp/trafficker were also listed as suspects.

CAPRS Minneapolis criminal history checks

The MPD contractor conducted a check of criminal history in Minneapolis Police Department data of all suspects and victims named in the MPD cases that met study criteria, using the MPD’s Computer Assisted Police Records System (CAPRS) database. CAPRS includes only police contacts that occurred in Minneapolis. Therefore, we do not know the degree to which persons of interest may have had additional police contacts in other jurisdictions. Using information from the CAPRS searches, the contractor entered the number of MPD contacts for both victims and suspects into the Excel spreadsheet containing MPD case information, also coding yes/no for certain offenses of interest. These included a history of narcotics, having been a victim of child abuse (sexual, physical, and neglect), having perpetrated a violent crime, and having been reported for runaway, curfew violation, or as a missing person. For suspects only, the contractor also coded yes/no for any history of sex crimes, domestic assault, and/or criminal sexual conduct, then added appropriate search terms to each case and provided the spreadsheet to the research team for analysis.

Hennepin County District Court records

A member of the research team accessed Hennepin County District Court data from a public computer at the Hennepin County Government Center. All court information used in this project is classified as public data. Hennepin County District Court staff provided the research team with a list

of cases, and a research team member printed the case documents and entered notes into a spreadsheet for later content analysis. Criteria for case selection were 1) that the case had a juvenile victim and 2) was prosecuted under one of the following statutes:

- Sex trafficking; 609.322.1a(1): Solicit Prostitution;
- 609.322.1a(2): Promotes Prostitution of an Individual;
- 609.322.1a(3): Receives Profit from Prostitution-Under 18 yr Old;
- 609.322.1a(4): Solicit Prostitution;
- 609.324.1c: Engage in Prostitution.

Based on these criteria, 48 prosecuted cases were identified. Upon close examination, only 41 of these clearly involved sex trafficking activities under the state's current definition, and two of these involved the same victim. It is also important to note that sex trafficking was not a Minnesota State statute until 2010, and Minnesota's Safe Harbor legislation was not passed until 2011. Hence, prior to 2012, juveniles were still prosecuted for prostitution-related crimes. Given the statutory context, we may not have accessed all prosecuted cases involving juvenile trafficking if they were charged and prosecuted under a statute we did not investigate.

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

This study also included face-to-face interviews with front line staff who, in a variety of capacities, work with youth victimized through sex trafficking. These are adults who are closest to the youth and their experiences. Typically, in social science research these types of interviews are called "key informant" interviews. This means qualitative interviews with people who have deep expertise and knowledge within the community of interest for the research project. However, we recognize that the term "informant" can have negative connotations. Our goal with interviews was to gather information for a contextual "how it works" framework for analysis of the police and court data.

For these interviews, we used a sampling method commonly referred to as "purposeful sampling" (Stinger, 2007). We started from the co-investigators' knowledge base of the scope and scale of sex trafficking in Minneapolis to chart the terrain of who we should include in our interviews. Interviews were organized within key sectors and roles of people who have contact with youth. We also paid close attention to the different communities within Minneapolis, including not only white people but also communities of color and new immigrants in our interviews. Our goal was to account for the diverse sectors of people that we knew came into contact with people involved in sex trafficking, while being aware that many of these individuals do not interact with those from other sectors and communities.

To interview widely within groups that may or may not talk or work closely with one another, we interviewed people whose job it is to work on sex trafficking of juveniles through advocacy, law enforcement and service provision. But we also talked with others who see and interact with youth involved in commercial sexual exploitation and trafficking but may not work solely on that issue. This included health care providers, youth housing providers, advocates, formal and informal street

outreach people, community leaders, and more. As the study unfolded, additional leads were followed and added to our framework for identifying potential interviewees if we learned new information.

Our sampling approach was “purposeful” in that we tried to make sure we completed enough interviews representing the diversity in each sector engaged in work with victims and in law enforcement efforts to reach “saturation” – meaning we heard the same themes and information expressed by a wide variety of people.

Across the breadth of our interviews we endeavored to gather data about specific social groups and specific geographic areas most impacted by domestic minor sex trafficking, in addition to general information about experiences that are universal versus unique to one or more specific groups. We paid particular attention to engaging people working with and within racial and ethnic communities already known to be experiencing sex trafficking of their minor girls – Black/African-American, Hispanic/Latina, Hmong, American Indian, Somali, White, and Liberian. We believe we reached saturation with our interviews in the following communities: Black/African-American, American Indian, and White. We interviewed a total of 89 people in 47 separate interviews. Figure 3 shows the number of people we interviewed within key categories of frontline individuals who come into contact with exploited youth.

Figure 3: Interviews completed



Among the 70 people in youth advocacy and services, we spoke with the following unduplicated number of people in each of several sub-categories: youth advocates (15); youth-serving staff at community advocacy organizations (20); youth-serving staff at international advocacy organizations (2); staff at youth-serving social services organizations (14); staff at youth advocacy organizations (15); and four additional people.

Though we reached some degree of saturation in our interviews with the Latino/a and the Somali communities, we feel there is still more to learn that we were not able to uncover. We were unable to conduct enough interviews in the Hmong and Liberian communities to reach any level of saturation, so additional effort is needed in the future to engage these communities.

The interviews were semi-structured around three primary themes:

- The people involved (victims, sex buyers, facilitators)

- Where activities related to domestic minor sex trafficking are located geographically
- How the sex trafficking of juveniles is accomplished.

Interviewees were asked to share their firsthand knowledge and to describe their professional experiences and personal perspectives in regard to market descriptions and conditions. Questions were designed to gather information about geographic locations, market structures, and the people involved. No information was sought or recorded about specific cases or specific individuals.

Some interviews were with single individuals while others were with a group of individuals from the same organization. We conducted a total of 47 interview sessions. Interviews ranged from one hour to three hours in length depending on the number of individuals participating and the time they had allotted for the interview. Interviews were conducted by a team of two project staff members, one to lead, the other to take notes and help with follow-up questions when needed.

Interviewers used a grid containing three columns: primary theme, key questions, and additional follow-up questions. The overall question framework was intended to guide participants to topic areas where they had the most direct knowledge while reducing any tendency to relay information they heard second or third hand. The grid is provided as Appendix A. Most of the interviews were digitally recorded, based on participant consent. Interviews were not fully transcribed, but summary notes were created for each interview that includes some key quotes typed verbatim. We used this information to construct a general overview of how the market works.

As a final stage of analysis, we invited some interview participants and additional stakeholders to review and comment on our findings. This process is sometimes referred to as “member checking.” It is a feedback loop to assure that our constructed categories and interpretations of the data accurately reflect research participants’ understanding.

MEDIA COVERAGE

The research team reviewed media coverage of sex trafficking in Minnesota with a focus on the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul published between June 27, 2007 and December 31, 2013. Using Lexus/Nexus, an online academic research search engine for full-text documents, we gathered two types of print media: news articles that focused on specific cases and news articles focused on awareness-building and community mobilization. Our search terms included “sex trafficking,” “human trafficking,” “sex trade,” “teen sex offenses,” “prostitution,” and “trafficking.” Search parameters were “between 2008-2013,” “Minnesota” (for broad searches) and “metro area,” “Minneapolis,” and “St. Paul” (for narrower searches). The research team recorded the lead title for each identified story and conducted content analysis of both lead titles and article content to identify trends and patterns in media framing of domestic minor sex trafficking.

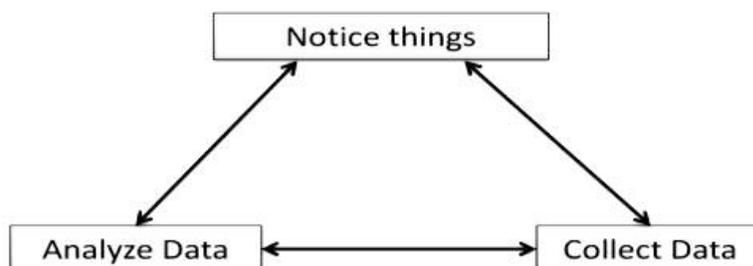
DATA ANALYSIS

Narrative (text) data

Narrative data from court records were transcribed to sortable tables and the Minneapolis Police Department data were summarized in narrative with key words and themes highlighted. The research team conducted content analysis of these data to identify patterns related to victims' vulnerability, facilitators' strategies for securing victims (i.e. recruitment and coercion), and facilitators' operational strategies for responding to sex buyers' demand.

The typed interview summaries containing “who, where, and how” notes and key quotes from interviews were uploaded to NVivo, a software package designed for coding and qualitative analysis of text data. We used open coding to categorize blocks of text related to specific topics of interest. Open coding is a non-linear approach to classifying data for qualitative analysis. It is usually used in conjunction with a grounded theory approach to analysis. In grounded theory, the patterns seen within the coded text data are used to generate a theoretical explanation of the dynamic at play. Figure 4 below shows the back-and-forth interplay between data collection (interviews), coding the various topical and contextual themes expressed during the interviews, and determining what it all means.¹⁴

Figure 4: The qualitative analysis process



Our open coding process resulted in over 200 distinct codes, called “nodes” in NVivo. Each node represents a category or theme that emerged from the data. Our research team constructed an analytical framework based on a nesting of nodes. A list of all nodes, including their definitions and their hierarchical structures, is included in Appendix B.

NVivo software has the ability to generate frequencies of mention for specific nodes and to create cross-tabulations of nodes among all of our interviews. These allowed us to assess the degree to which specific types of information intersected. For our first level of qualitative analysis, we first generated output from NVivo to examine the frequency of mention for each topical/contextual theme (node) and for relationships between nodes in the interview narratives. For the final analysis, we generated actual text segments organized within specific categories of interest, which the research team examined to further identify patterns-within-patterns.

NVivo also allowed us to see how many interviews discussed our primary themes and also how many total references were made across all interviews on each theme. Figure 5, below, shows that the largest portion of our interview content concerned discussions of who was involved in sex trafficking. However, this information was quite diverse, as most interviews contained references to people and/or operations specific to certain racial or ethnic communities, and operational details specific to those same communities.

Figure 5: Major content categories (i.e. nodes) in interviews



Numerical data

To identify demographic and background patterns among facilitators, sex buyers, and victims, we numerically coded all data extracted from Minneapolis Police Department case files and Hennepin County District Court records that described the characteristics of facilitators, sex buyers, and victims. We analyzed those data using SPSS, a statistical software package, and generated charts and tables to illustrate our findings.

Geographic data for maps

Geographic data from law enforcement records, with concrete addresses, were prepared for display in map format using GIS (Geographic Information Systems) technology. We added address or geographic location information mentioned in case content to the Excel file created by the MPD contractor. We focused specifically on these five types of locations:

- Where transactions took place;
- Where victims were recruited;
- Facilitators' residential location;

- Victims' residential location; and
- Sex buyers' residential locations.

We also used secondary census and American Community Survey data in producing the GIS maps to help us understand the economic context in areas where facilitators, victims, and sex buyers reside, where victims are recruited, and where sexual transactions occurs.

STUDY LIMITATIONS

Research on any hidden criminal activity or stigmatized behavior (including this study) is difficult and prone to at least some degree of bias. Consequently, all studies on sex trafficking have limitations. We have done our best to develop the strongest possible methods, using a wide variety of sources. We feel confident that the information we present is accurate and grounded in empirical reality, but any picture is necessarily partial and incomplete. It is likely that we have not described all aspects of the market for domestic minor sex trafficking in Minneapolis. Our goal in this report is to describe what we learned through the sources we were able to access.

Our study was limited to Minneapolis. It was based on Minneapolis Police Department case records, Hennepin County District Court data, and interviews with key individuals engaged in work for and/or with sexually exploited youth in Minneapolis. We know that sex trafficking operations are not limited by city and other municipal boundaries. In the course of our study we found many connections to jurisdictions across the Metropolitan area, across Minnesota, and in other states. Though our findings may suggest things to focus on in other jurisdictions, they cannot be considered representative of all areas.

Our study focused exclusively on commercial sexual exploitation and trafficking of girls in Minneapolis. Thus, we did not directly explore trafficking across international borders. We also know that boys and transgender youth are also victims of sex trafficking, and we do include the limited information about boys and transgender youth that we uncovered in our investigation. As we mentioned earlier, our primary focus was girls, but research explicitly focused on the commercial sexual exploitation of boys is much needed. Boys and transgender youth face unique stigma and barriers to disclosure of victimization to service providers and police.

While the public perception is that all facilitators and sex buyers are men and all juvenile victims are girls, we found ample evidence that women may play active roles in sex trafficking operations. In Minneapolis Police Department data and in interviews, it was clear that some operations are led by women. Most of these women had been exploited in commercial sex themselves, prior to becoming involved as facilitators. However, across all of the data sources we examined, the vast majority of leaders of sex trafficking operations were identified as men and boys.

Likewise, the vast majority of victims described in our data were female. Two of the people we interviewed mentioned relatively affluent women visiting downtown Minneapolis and Latino sex trade operations to purchase sex with young men, but we found no direct evidence of female sex buyers in the police or court data. This suggests that while women sex buyers may exist, law

enforcement efforts have not yet detected them. Our questions were also worded to focus on sex trafficking of juvenile girls. We might have found stronger evidence of juvenile male and transgender victims had we also asked about these groups. We also may have found more evidence of female sex buyers had we asked specifically about male victims.

Our findings regarding demographic characteristics of facilitators, sex buyers, and victims are based primarily on MPD case files, especially the charts we created. Nationally, law enforcement and criminal justice data show significant over-representation of persons of color, which is at least partially a reflection of the broader society's institutions and perceptions about race and criminality.¹⁵ Two factors are potentially at play in the racial demographics of MPD data: 1) the concentration of racial minorities (especially African-Americans) in high-poverty, high-crime areas of the city; and 2) the role of racial stereotypes in citizen calls to police regarding people and incidents described as suspicious in nature. Consequently, the data used to generate our demographic charts are unavoidably biased to some degree, and this is a limitation of our research.

During the preliminary analysis phase, we recognized a significant number of important questions that we did not anticipate or ask of the people we interviewed. While we were able to identify some differences in the types of sex trafficking operations across racial/ethnic communities, we did not investigate causal mechanisms for specific operation types as this is an exploratory study. We also were not able to complete a large enough number of interviews in some communities to draw strong conclusions. This could be an important line of inquiry for future studies.

In relevant sections of the report, we again highlight these and other limitations of the study.

We also acknowledge that this study was exploratory and there are important gaps in our findings. There is a definite need for more research to fully flesh out the internal processes of sex trafficking operations in various areas, and how these affect the communities in which they are embedded. While this report is a step forward in such understanding, more detailed data on these subjects are critical to developing a complete picture.

KEY FINDINGS

WHO IS INVOLVED

As described above in the section about language and terminology we explore three basic categories of people involved in sex trafficking operations: facilitators, victims, and sex buyers. These same categories have been described in the academic literature on domestic minor sex trafficking (DMST).¹⁶ Our research has surfaced additional information about people involved in sex trafficking, their relation to each other, and their situation within the local Minneapolis context.

We culled evidence about these categories of people from law enforcement data and also asked our interviewees what they knew about people involved. In this section, first we describe what we learned about people from each source. Then we combine this information into a composite description of people involved in domestic minor sex trafficking.

Law enforcement records on DMST cases

Law enforcement records can tell us a great deal about the characteristics of people who have been arrested and/or involved in prostitution and domestic minor sex trafficking cases. These data include descriptions of the gender, race and age of facilitators, victims and sex buyers who came to the attention of police; as well as some detailed information about their role in domestic minor sex trafficking operations. However, it is possible (in fact, probable) that there are other people involved in sex trafficking operations that have yet to be discovered by law enforcement personnel. Furthermore, law enforcement data may not present the whole picture.

Minneapolis Police case report data

In MPD cases we identified 50 individuals who were involved as facilitators and 88 minor victims. Because some longer and more intensive investigations involved multiple case numbers and multiple reports, this victim data comprised a duplicated count. The redaction of victim names made it difficult to be certain, but by using available data we were able to identify most duplicates. Our best estimate is that there were at least 73 unduplicated victims identified in MPD case files.¹⁷ Of the 73 unduplicated victims 7 (10%) were male.

Finally, 23 unduplicated sex buyers were identified in MPD cases.

Among the MPD cases identified for this study, there were seven that appeared to be cases of luring or attempted child molestation where money was offered. Each of the seven involved adult males as the perpetrator, and often involved multiple minors. Together, the seven cases identified seven female and seven male victims. There was no third-party facilitator involved in these cases. We classified these as molestation cases as it did not appear to be prostitution or trafficking and no sexual transaction took place. They were extracted for our review because in each case, the perpetrator offered some kind of cash payment. It is noteworthy that these 14 juveniles represented

19% of the 73 unduplicated juvenile victims in MPD sex trafficking investigations. This indicates some conceptual overlap in different forms of sexual exploitation of youth.

Age of Individuals in MPD Cases

Minneapolis Police Department records generally provide an exact age for individuals in police reports at the time of incident. Thus, age and gender are the most accurate and consistent demographic details provided in MPD case files. The cases provided an age for all individuals except one facilitator. Figure 6, below, shows the age range and average age for facilitators, victims and sex buyers. We can see that victims are by far the youngest. Facilitators were, on average fifteen years older than victims; and sex buyers were, on average, twelve years older than facilitators and twenty-eight years older than victims.

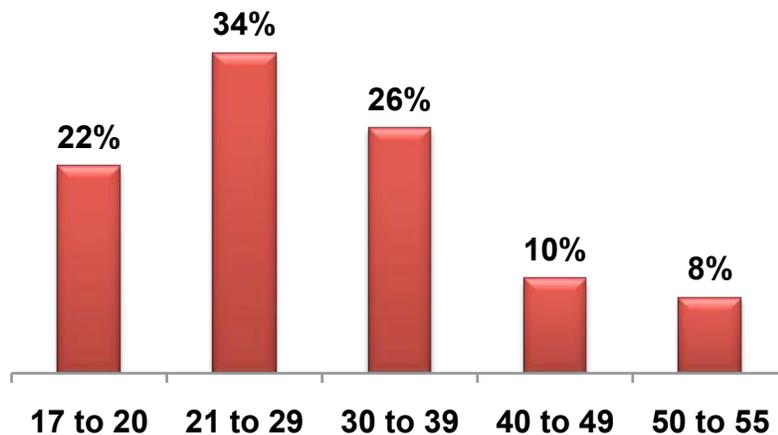
Figure 6: Range and average age of people in MPD cases

Role	Age range	Average age
Facilitators (n=49)*	17-55	31
Victims (n=73)	4-17	15
Sex buyers (n=23)	23-65	42

*There were 50 facilitators but age was missing for one of them.

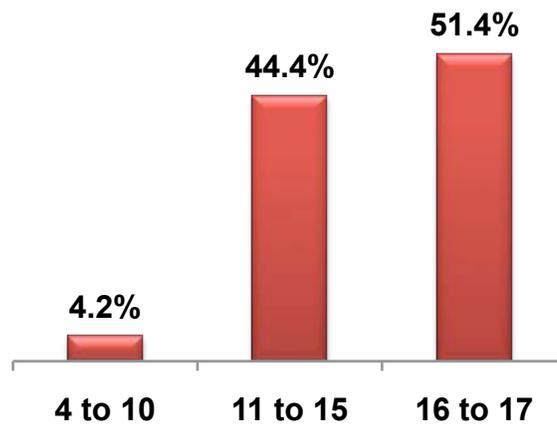
The age of facilitators ranged from 17 to 55 years old. Just under a quarter (22%) of the facilitators are aged 17-20, only slightly older than most of the victims. Just under half (44%) of the facilitators are aged 30 or over. This suggests the possibility of two different types of facilitators operating at different levels of experience and sophistication. Figure 7 shows the age distribution for facilitators.

Figure 7: Age distribution of facilitators (n=49) in MPD Cases



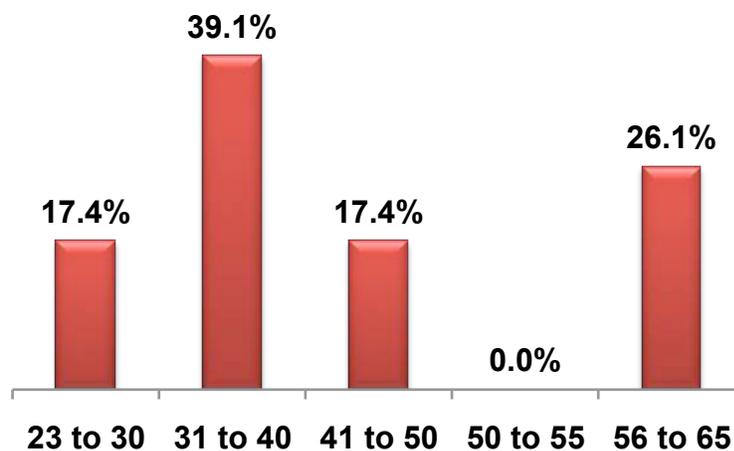
Victims' ages ranged from 9 to 17. Almost half (48.6%) were age 15 or younger, averaging 15 years of age. Regarding the age of victims we must remember that this is the victim's age at the time law enforcement became involved. It is not necessarily the victim's age when first trafficked and/or involved in commercial sexual exploitation. In many cases, victims described extensive prior exploitation before coming to the attention of law enforcement. Figure 8 shows the age distribution of victims.

Figure 8: Age distribution of victims in MPD Cases (n=73)



Sex buyers' ages ranged from 23-65 with an average age of 42. Figure 9 shows the age distribution for sex buyers.

Figure 9: Age distribution of sex buyers in MPD cases (n=23)



Additional characteristics of individuals in MPD domestic minor sex trafficking cases

MPD case files contain some additional information about other socio-economic and demographic characteristics related to individuals involved in sex trafficking. MPD police reports do not record specific income level, but sometimes socio-economic contexts were described in the content of the report. Racial category is included in MPD cases. It was based on the perception of the officer filing the report rather than the person's self-identification. Case files contain the greatest amount of information about victims. Investigators interviewed victims and got to know them; this familiarity is reflected in case file content.

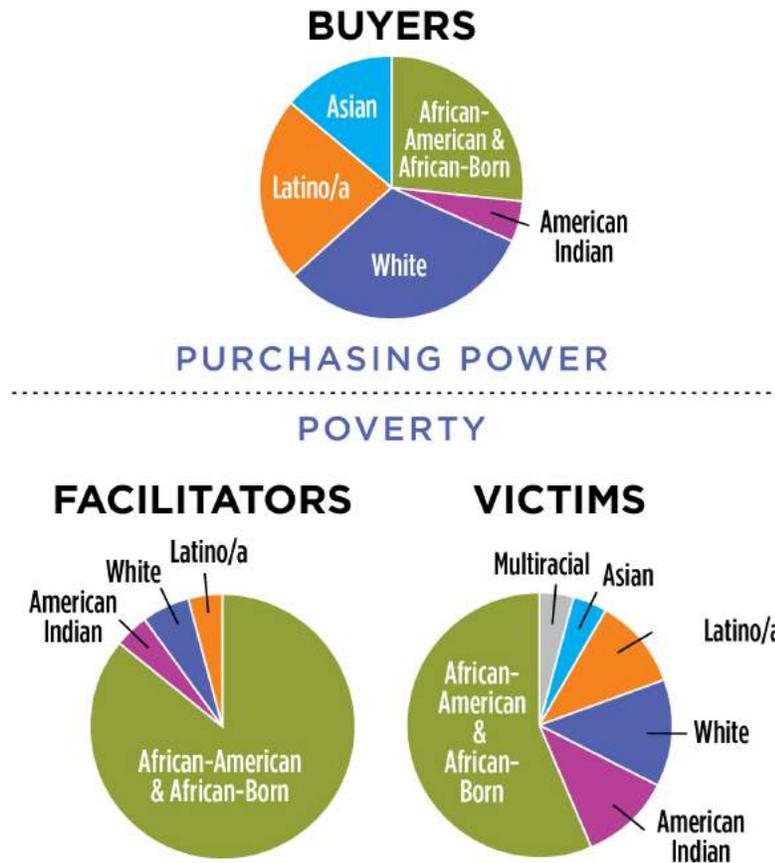
The cases present a picture of the girls as living in poverty. Generalized residential addresses in Minneapolis police department cases show girls living in neighborhoods with very high poverty rates (see figure 21). Police records also suggest that many girls are runaway, precariously housed and homeless. Roughly one-third of the unduplicated victims in the MPD domestic minor sex trafficking cases (24 of 73) were described in the cases as runaways. Victim descriptions in the MPD case files suggest that at least some others were homeless.

Case content also highlights histories of trauma for the victims, with significant emotional and behavioral challenges. Seven MPD cases described minor girls with additional vulnerabilities such as depression, bipolar disorder, PTSD, severe emotional/behavioral issues, developmental disabilities, and being hearing-impaired. Several entire cases revolved around a school and other locations where girls with disabilities and/or emotional and behavioral issues are cared for. Facilitators' targeting of schools and girls with specific and diagnosed emotional and/or behavior disabilities is a pattern that surfaced again in our review of media coverage and in interviews. We discuss this in later sections.

Narrative content of case files shows that facilitators tend to live in the same neighborhoods as victims. Thus they also tend to live in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty, a pattern which is displayed in maps in the following section. Though MPD case files did not contain direct information about income level and poverty, we believe poverty is a critical component in understanding the racial representation of individuals as facilitators and victims. Engagement in the marketplace of sex trafficking for facilitators and victims is an income generating activity – the goal is to make money and/or to satisfy basic needs.

Figure 10, below, shows the racial representation of individuals involved in MPD cases of domestic minor sex trafficking with an indication of the role of poverty and purchasing power.

Figure 10: Racial representation, poverty, and purchasing power of individuals in MPD cases.



Sex buyers, facilitators, and victims in cases investigated by suburban law enforcement are not included in these data.

When all factors are considered, we conclude that there are two driving forces related to people in the domestic minor sex trafficking market. First is the purchasing power of sex buyers. The market exists to deliver girls to sex buyers. Second is poverty among facilitators and victims. We found an over-representation of communities of color as facilitators and victims in domestic minor sex trafficking cases. The racial representation of sex buyers is more reflective of the general population.

As noted in the earlier description of study limitations, the racial representation of individuals involved in sex trafficking of juveniles must be considered in a broader context. In Minnesota, race and socioeconomic class are intertwined and a much higher proportion of people of color live in poverty compared to white people. The academic literature confirms that people of color and poor people have a disproportionate rate of incarceration compared to the general population, while there is no evidence to suggest that people of color and poor people actually commit more crime.¹⁸ And,

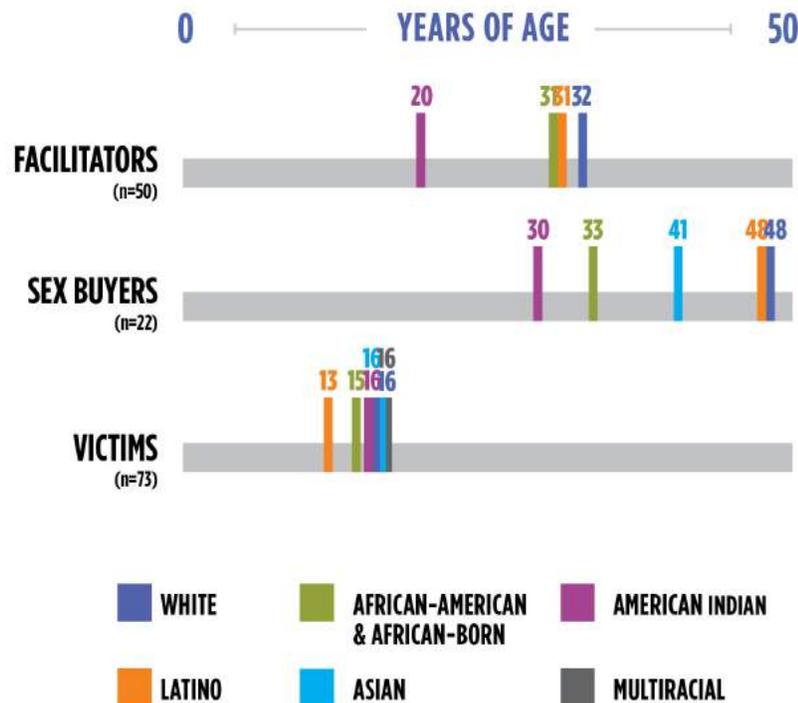
again we note that MPD cases are only those that came to the attention of the police, most of which were reported either by a third party or by a victim.

Examination of police records from the whole Twin Cities Metropolitan area, would likely yield a more complete description of racial representation and socio-economic background of individuals involved in sex trafficking of minors in Minneapolis. However, this was beyond the scope of this study.

As we discuss in the sections below, many of the people we interviewed, and the media stories from the whole Metro area, indicate that the racial demographics depicted in the pie charts above may not accurately represent the full range of individuals involved in facilitation and sex buying. For example, several people we interviewed described white individuals involved in sex trafficking of Somali girls in Minneapolis. But we did not find evidence of this pattern in any of the law enforcement cases. Media stories, such as coverage of the so-called “Minnesota Nice Guys” prostitution ring, suggest that a higher proportion of sex buyers are white men than we saw in law enforcement records.¹⁹

Figure 11 compares the average age of facilitators, sex buyers, and victims by racial category. There were two women arrested as facilitators who ranged in age from 18-24, but we did not include them in the diagram because case content suggested that they were also victims who were controlled by a male facilitator. We also did not include the seven cases of molestation.

Figure 11: Average age, by role and racial category

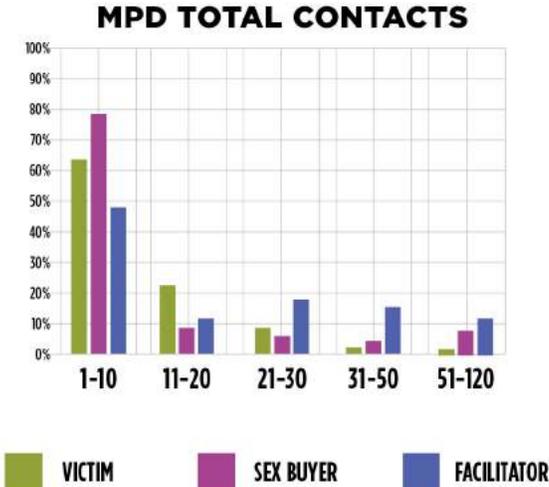


This comparison of data highlights several different patterns and trends in the MPD cases. First, it shows that facilitators tend to be much older than victims, except in the case of American Indian facilitators who appear to be younger than other facilitators and closer in age to their victims. Sex buyers tend to be older than facilitators and victims both, but similar to American Indian facilitators, American Indian sex buyers are younger than those from other racial groups. Finally, we see that most victims are between the ages of 15-16 when they came to the attention of police, except for Latina girls, who averaged age 13. We had too little data to draw any firm conclusions about this discrepancy.

Prior Minneapolis Police Department contacts

As described in the methods section above, once all the cases were identified, the MPD contractor generated a list of individuals involved in domestic minor sex trafficking cases and conducted a criminal history search within the MPD data base, CAPRS. This search yielded new information about the backgrounds of these individuals, as offenders and as victims. Figure 12 shows the total number of prior Minneapolis Police Department contacts for facilitators, victims and sex buyers.

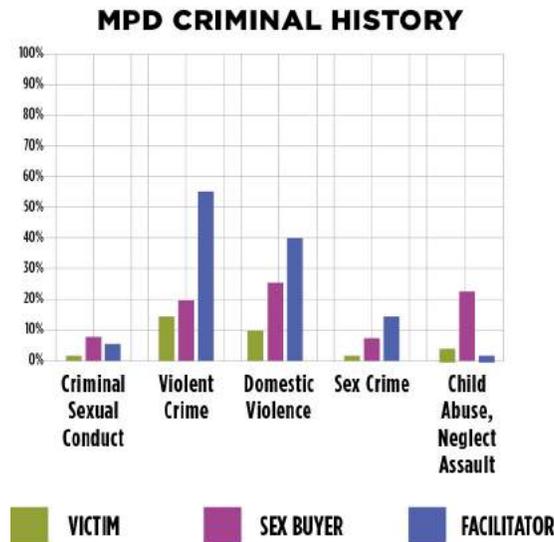
Figure 12: Total number of MPD contacts



All the individuals identified in MPD cases had at least one police contact due to the fact that they were involved in the case that we reviewed. We found that 42% of facilitators had more than 20 police contacts, compared to 15% of sex buyers and 13% of victims. Almost one-fourth (24%) of facilitators had more than 30 police contacts (see Figure 12). The greater representation of sex buyers and victims with one to ten police contacts is not surprising, and very likely reflects earlier police practice that focused on the actual sexual transactions and less on the traffickers that facilitated them.

We examined CAPRS to assess whether victims, facilitators, and sex buyers had previously been suspects in other cases. As Figure 13 illustrates, facilitators and sex buyers were more often listed as suspects in prior crimes against persons. We found that 55% of the facilitators had prior involvement as suspects in violent crime (non-domestic), 40% in domestic violence cases, 15% in sex crimes, and 6% in other criminal sexual conduct.

Figure 13: Prior criminal history in MPD records



We also examined criminal history related to narcotics. Previous studies of juvenile involvement in prostitution have found that drug use plays a central role in their recruitment and in the difficulties they encounter when trying to exit the sex trade.²⁰Our criminal history search found that while only 6% of victims had a history of narcotics involvement in CAPRS records, almost half the facilitators had such histories. Only 4% of sex buyers had a narcotics history in MPD records (see Figure 14).

Figure 14: History of narcotics involvement of victims, sex buyers and facilitators

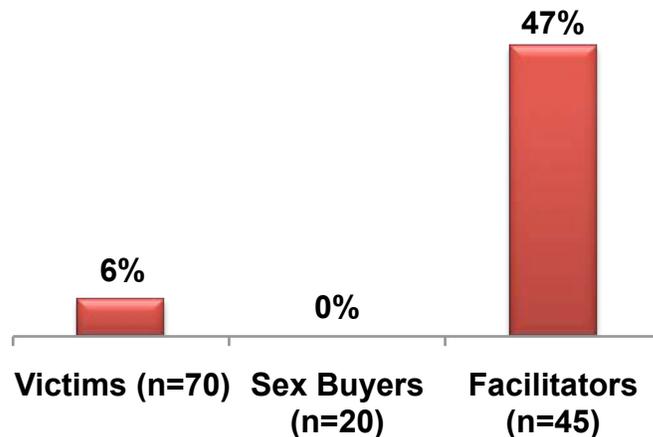
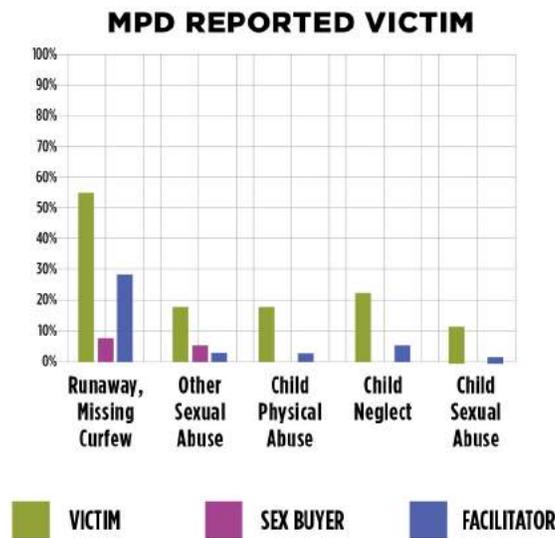


Figure 15 compares the proportion of victims, sex buyers, and facilitators represented in CAPRS as victims or vulnerable minors. Sex trafficking victims identified in MPD cases had very high rates of prior reported vulnerability and prior victimization in the CAPRS data. The most frequent police contacts of this type were due to experiencing child neglect, being reported as a runaway or missing person, and having curfew violations. This supports and strengthens the narrative information in MPD case records.

Figure 15: Reported victim status



Facilitators also had fairly high rates of having been reported to MPD as a runaway or missing person, and as having violated curfew in their younger years. This suggests that there very well may be vulnerabilities and victimization in the early lives of men who become facilitators.

Hennepin County District Court data

We identified 38 victims in 39 Hennepin County District Court cases, Twenty-one (55%) came to the attention of police when a third party reported the activity. Twelve cases (32%) were the result of a police sting operation, in which an officer posed as a purchaser; in two of these cases, no victim was involved. In four cases, the victim herself came forward, and in four additional cases, the victim was identified during the process of another police investigation.

Two traffickers exploited the same victim and were prosecuted separately. With the exception of one, all victims were female; the other was a 25-year old male dressed as a woman. Race was rarely recorded in court case documents so we do not include it here. For 13 victims, no age was recorded, but of the 26 for whom age was documented, 19 (73%) were minors averaging 15.3 years in age. The court cases also included seven adult women ages 18-26 defined as sex trafficking victims,

which under Minnesota law means that a facilitator was involved in the transaction. Two of these, both age 18, had been kidnapped together and transported from Illinois to Minneapolis.

The number of victims with court records indicating significant vulnerability was also quite high. Eight of the age-identified minors in the court cases (42%) were identified in court documents as runaways. One of the adult female victims had a physical disability and a second had developmental disabilities.

In 34 of the 39 court cases, a trafficker/pimp was identified as the primary facilitator; 29 of these were male, and five were female. Traffickers ranged in age from 19 to 66, but 21 of these (62%) were age 30 or younger. In five cases, sex buyers ages 39 to 50 were prosecuted. Two of the sex buyers were apprehended through a police sting operation, and three others were identified when they directly solicited victims for commercial sex.

Interviews

Some of the demographic patterns we found in law enforcement and court data were reinforced by our interviews, but in some cases our interviews suggest that the individuals represented in official law enforcement case data may not represent the full range of people involved in domestic minor sex trafficking.

As noted earlier, in the interviews, the most prominent topic discussed by participants was the people involved in sex trafficking. Figure 16 shows the prevalence of interviewees' descriptions of individuals involved in sex trafficking. They talked most about victims, and least frequently about sex buyers.

Figure 16: Interviewees' references to the people involved

	# of interviews	Total references
Victim	44	1113
Facilitator	39	458
Sex buyer	31	288

Below we summarize the information provided in interviews about each category of people involved in domestic minor sex trafficking. To illustrate the prominence of any given trend across interviews, we include the number of interviews and the number of references for each theme and topic directly discussed by interviewees. When we describe a theme in our narrative, we also provide quotes to illustrate that theme.

Content from interviews about the demographics of victims and facilitators supports our findings on the demographics of people described in law enforcement sources with one huge caveat. Interview data suggest that law enforcement data significantly under-represents the involvement of white facilitators and sex buyers as well as wealthy individuals in both categories.

Facilitators

Participants in 24 interviews directly discussed socio-economic and demographic backgrounds of facilitators. Several interviewees suggested that white men are involved in the upper echelons of some sex trafficking operations, but overall most described facilitators as men of color, primarily African-American, American Indian, and multi-racial males. Even so, when describing the trafficking of girls from any particular racial or ethnic community, people we interviewed mentioned facilitators of the same race or ethnicity and commented on the ease with which these facilitators are able to recruit the vulnerable girls of their community by being part of the local “scene.”

Interviewees also described some differences between younger and older facilitators in how they treat victims, suggesting that the younger facilitators (teens and early 20s) use more violence to maintain control since they are closer in age to victims. For example, one person we interviewed said this about young facilitators:

They are the most violent. They use force to force the girls into submission. They use humiliation, verbal and physical, in front of everyone. They are vulgar and sadistic.

Victims

In regard to victims, our interviews surfaced the same themes and vulnerabilities as we found in law enforcement data. Youth were described as predominantly girls of color living in poverty. Interviewees also mentioned white girls from outstate Minnesota who were runaways. Several interviewees also mentioned that any girl could be pulled in. These demographics were directly discussed in 28 interviews with 84 references, but were also mentioned in passing across many other interviews.

Participants in 39 interviews discussed demographic background of victims, making 87 specific references. The most common vulnerabilities mentioned were: unsupportive home relationships (34 interviews), impaired mental and physical health (31 interviews), and precarious housing/homelessness (28 interviews). Interviewees commonly listed other vulnerability factors, including being a runaway, drug/alcohol use and behavioral health issues, past child abuse, prior experience of rape and sexual assault, and being a pregnant or parenting teen.

Several also mentioned a generational aspect for some girls, in which mothers and other female relatives drew young girls into prostitution as a “family business.” For example, one person we interviewed said:

It was a family thing. The mother was pimping all of the siblings. The older sister originally was in jail for prostitution. She probably did it to help the family. After the sister, the mother pimped out the younger five children. [An 8-year-old] told about how men will come to the house and pick a kid of their choice.

Some interviewees stressed the need to focus more strongly on the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ)/Two-Spirit community as well as boys who are sexually exploited (7 and 6 interviews, respectively). Likewise, while girls from the Somali, Liberian and Hmong communities were not represented in the law enforcement data, they were described as common trafficking victims by the people we interviewed. In our interviews with individuals knowledgeable about the Somali community, participants suggested that girls who came to the United States from refugee camps in East Africa without their parents are most at risk and that they are specifically targeted by facilitators. We did not learn if there are any specific demographic characteristics of girls from the Liberian and Hmong communities that are particularly prevalent or targeted

Sex buyers

Interviewees made far fewer references to sex buyers than references to facilitators and victims. However, to balance the lesser amount of information on sex buyers found in criminal justice data, we include additional detail from the interviews in this section. In more than half of our interviews, participants described wealthy white male sex buyers seeking commercial sex with juveniles in Minneapolis but residing in the suburbs (25 interviews, 45 references). The same number of interviews and references discussed socioeconomic backgrounds of sex buyers. Some people we interviewed suggested the white male sex buyers were typically middle aged and older. Furthermore, white men were mentioned as being involved in all forms of sex trafficking and prostitution ranging from street-based to high-end private parties. However, we did not find corroboration of the extent of involvement of wealthy white men in either MPD or District Court data.

Despite the lesser focus on sex buyers, some interviewees' comments about sex buyers' interests and priorities help sketch out at least some of the factors driving the demand for commercial sex with juveniles. The main point made by the majority of our interviewees was that the men seeking sex with juveniles are not a distinct category of men. Many reported that in their experience, sex buyers come from all professions, all socioeconomic backgrounds, and all areas of the state and other Midwest cities.

Some interviewees described sex buyers as older white businessmen and professionals who work in Minneapolis or have some business there. These include traveling businessmen who visit Minneapolis. Below are a few quotes that illustrate what people we interviewed said:

The purchasers coming there [a massage parlor] were coming from across the board: White, Black, Asian, Hispanic... They were doctors, lawyers, some had construction jobs, and some were homeless... Depending on what time the johns respond to the backpage ad, we can

predict who the purchasers are. Those responding in the morning are men with fixed jobs times, so they can say they have to be to work early that day. Those responding in the afternoon have a lenient lunch break, like doctors, lawyers, landscapers, and construction workers. In the evening they are men who often (or are able to) work late, or men who have no family to answer to. During late nights, the men that respond are often part of the drunk crowd after the bars close.

Those who can afford to spend this kind of money often may do it often. But there are no strict categories of men who do it more often than others.

Sometimes the businesspeople arrange [sex] dates in advance even before reaching town. They probably do the same in every city they travel. Minnesota, however, is known for its high demand.

Summary about who is involved

Our study focused on girls. Victims tend to be young girls of color living in communities with high rates of poverty. The study highlighted multiple types of vulnerability including: prior victimization and child abuse/neglect, poverty, running away from home, substance use, cognitive and behavioral disabilities, and friend or families involved in trafficking.

Facilitators tend to be men of color, also from communities with high rates of poverty. They range in age from late teens to mid-fifties. Younger facilitators tend to work for older men and learn how to be facilitators in that way. Data suggest that young facilitators may have several “risk factors” in common with their victims, including prior victimization and child abuse/neglect, running away from home, poverty, and proximity to sex trafficking.

Sex buyers who purchase girls from Minneapolis tend to be men from all communities and socio-economic backgrounds across the entire Twin Cities Metropolitan area. The degree of purchasing power determines where and how they purchase and obtain sex with minor victims.

WHERE SEX TRAFFICKING OCCURS

A primary goal of this study was to gain a better understanding of *where* the different aspects of domestic minor sex trafficking occur. We wanted to know if sex trafficking operations in Minneapolis have a geographical base, and if so, where that might be. Our data did not speak directly to where bases of operation are located, but we did identify several ways to think about how domestic minor sex trafficking is manifested in real-life places and geographies. First, we investigated where the recruitment of victims occurs. Second, we look at where the sexual transactions occur. In other words, where sex buyers have sex or sexual activity with victims. Third, we examined the spatial relationship between the residential locations of facilitators, victims, and

sex buyers involved in domestic minor sex trafficking. And finally, we reflected on what this tells us about the geographical distribution of domestic minor sex trafficking operations in Minneapolis.

In this section we describe two types of information used to explore where the market operates. First, we provide maps that plot five key data points from Minneapolis Police Department data. These are: locations where youth were recruited as identified by MPD; transaction locations identified by MPD; and the residential locations of facilitators, victims and sex buyers as identified by MPD. Second, we examine the types of locations where the market operates as they were described in MPD case content and by our interviewees.

Maps of Minneapolis Police Department, generalized address data

In visualizing the distribution of elements of the sex trafficking market, we began by geo-coding address data (assigning geographic coordinates to a feature and plotting it as a point with spatial data) for all of the aforementioned types of information, and developing visuals using GIS (Geographic Information Systems) software. The data utilized in these maps came from the Minneapolis Police Department and was generalized to the block level. Although features are visualized as discrete points on the maps below, exact addresses were not used. Rather, data was generalized to provide an illustration of the overall distribution of sex-trafficking operations.

Please note that the maps presented below are based on geographic locations identified in Minneapolis Police records and Hennepin County District Court records *only*. These sources resulted in information that was both specific and verified. Though people we interviewed described locations, we did not include this information in the mapping process, although we do discuss it in the next section. Since the maps presented in this section represent geographic locations uncovered by Minneapolis Police activities, they may not be representative of all sex trafficking activity in Minneapolis. It is quite likely that sex buyers and sexual transactions will be better documented in suburban police data since Minneapolis police data showed much activity occurring outside of Minneapolis.

In this section we discuss a subset of maps that are most relevant for our discussion. For each of our five generalized variables (location of recruitment activities, location of sexual transactions, victim residential location, facilitator residential location, and sex buyer residential location) we have a metro-wide map and a zoomed-in map of Minneapolis. Due to the spatial fluidity of the market, many of these data points lie outside Minneapolis. In order to illuminate the relationship between sex trafficking and elements of structural inequality and access, we also produced several maps that compare location variables as they relate to poverty. A selection of maps is provided in the body of the text below, but the reader should refer to Appendix 3 to view all the maps.

Recruitment, solicitation, and sexual transactions

Interactions among those involved in domestic minor sex trafficking occur in, and are influenced and re-defined by, real-world locations. Girls are recruited into sex trafficking in specific places, either

by facilitators or through direct solicitation by sex buyers. We found that recruitment-based activities occur in schools, parks, libraries, street corners, juvenile detention centers, shelters and programming, and the residential homes of friends, family, and acquaintances.

On the other hand, sexual transactions were found to occur at hotels, sex buyers' homes, parties in these locales and in abandoned buildings, and street corners/alleys where the exchange of sexual activity occurred in a car.

Figure 17 represents the distribution of both of these forms of interactions and their spatial relationship to one another in the Metropolitan Area.

Visual inspection of this map shows that recruitment locations are primarily clustered in three areas of Minneapolis: Downtown, the Phillips Neighborhood area, and North Minneapolis. This clustering indicates that recruitment strategies are targeting minors in specific geographic regions rather than adopting a more geographically neutral approach. Conversely, transaction locations are more dispersed, occurring across Minneapolis and in residential homes in the suburbs. This indicates a less spatially-determined distribution of interactions.

Figure 17: Metro area recruitment and transaction locations

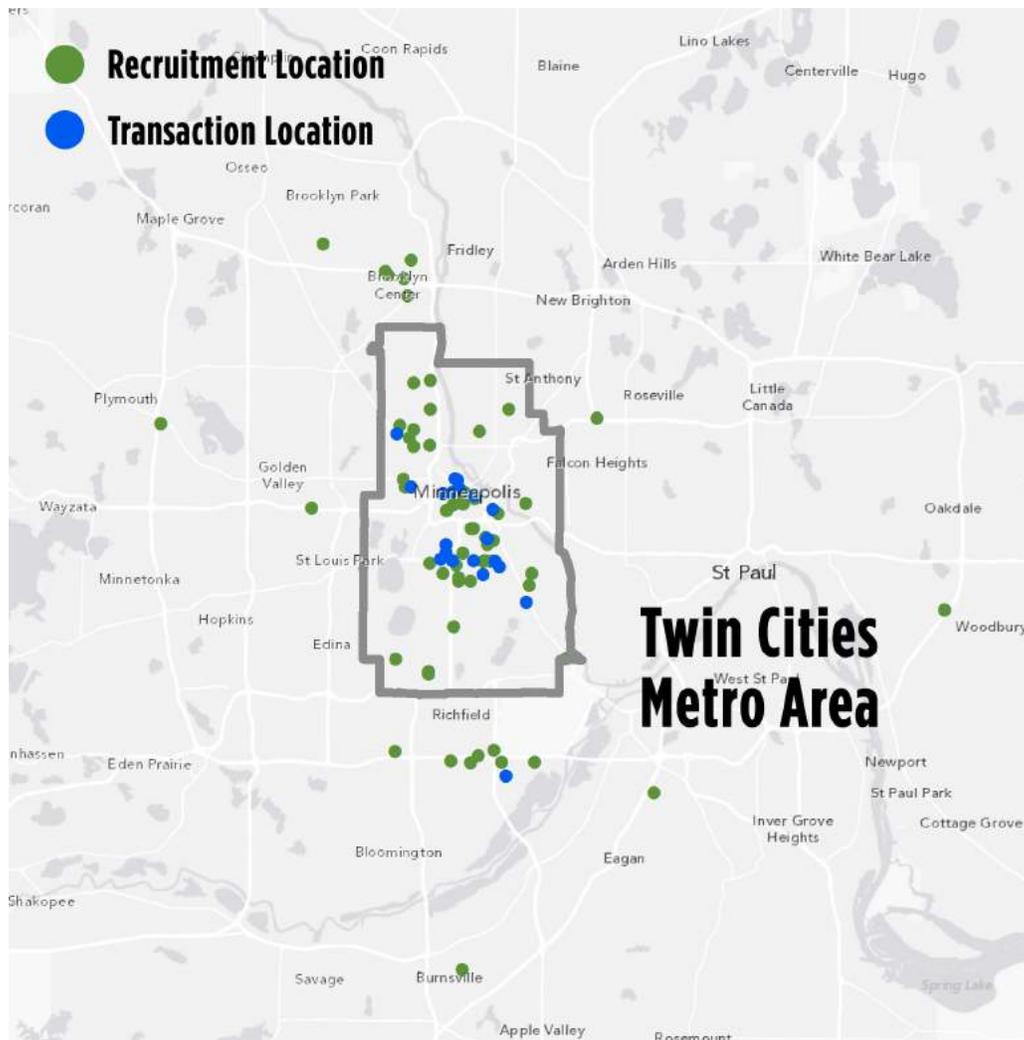
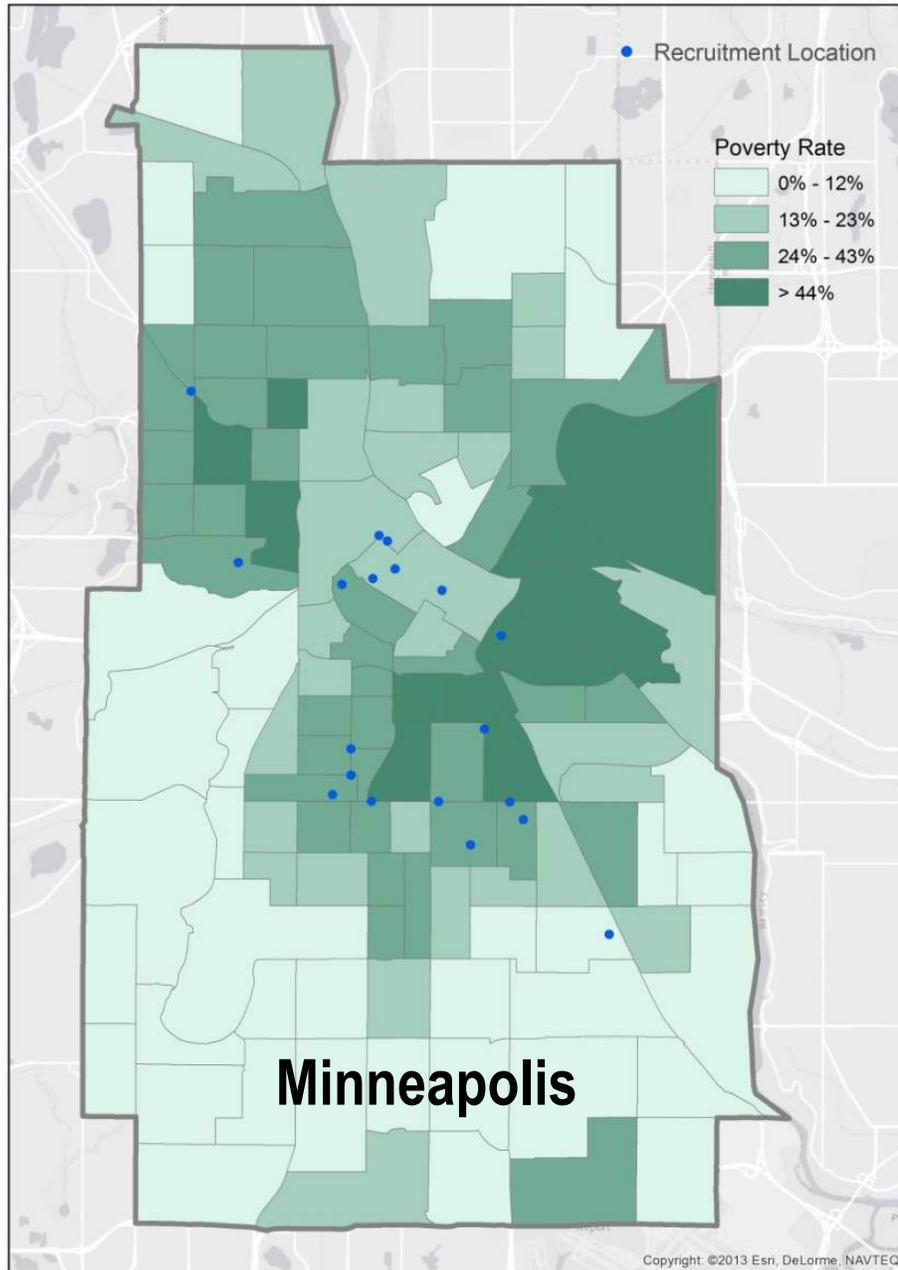


Figure 18 shows the distribution of recruitment locations within the context of the poverty rate by census tract in Minneapolis. The poverty rate shading by census tract shows the percentage of households in each census tract that have a household income below the Federal poverty rate, which for a family of three comes out to an annual income of \$19,790.

This map emphasizes the targeted nature of recruitment strategies, showing how recruitment locations have tended to occur in areas with higher poverty rates, particularly in the South Minneapolis Phillips neighborhoods. Additionally, a high proportion of recruitment instances also occurred in downtown Minneapolis, with occasional instances in North Minneapolis. On the other hand, low-poverty areas reported no instances of recruitment in MPD data.

Figure 18: Minneapolis recruitment locations, by poverty rate



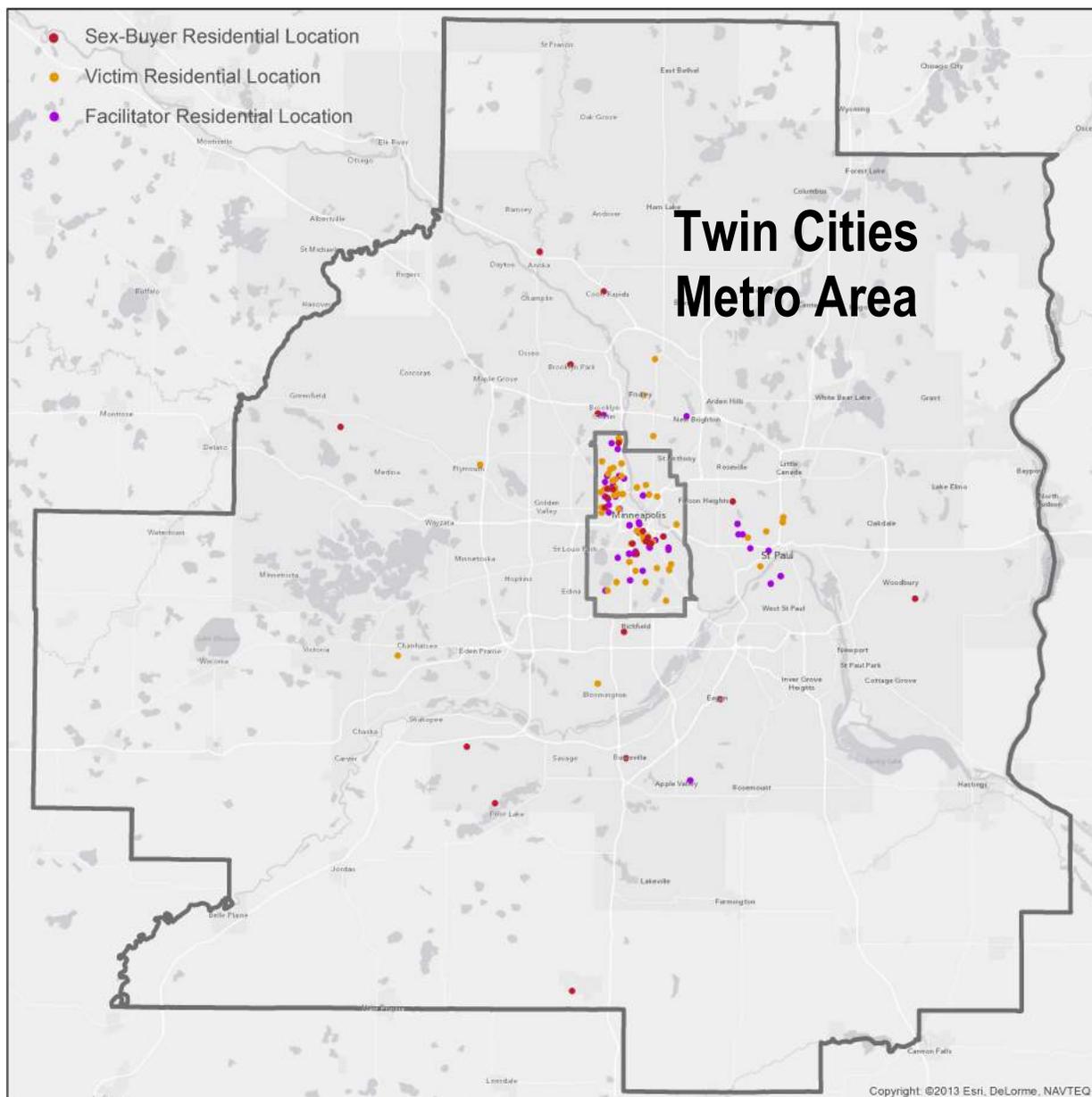
Residential location of individuals involved

The second layer of geography we explore is the residential location of individuals involved in domestic minor sex trafficking. This tells us a great deal about where operations may be rooted, and the relations between different groups involved.

There are several caveats that the reader must bear in mind. Many victims provided their residential address to police at the time of arrest as a Minneapolis address. However, some of the girls were originally from more rural areas of Minnesota and Wisconsin and also from Duluth and other, smaller towns. Unfortunately we were not able to geo-code this level of detail at this time.

The maps below (Figures 19 and 20) display the residential location of facilitators, victims and sex buyers identified in Minneapolis Police Department cases.

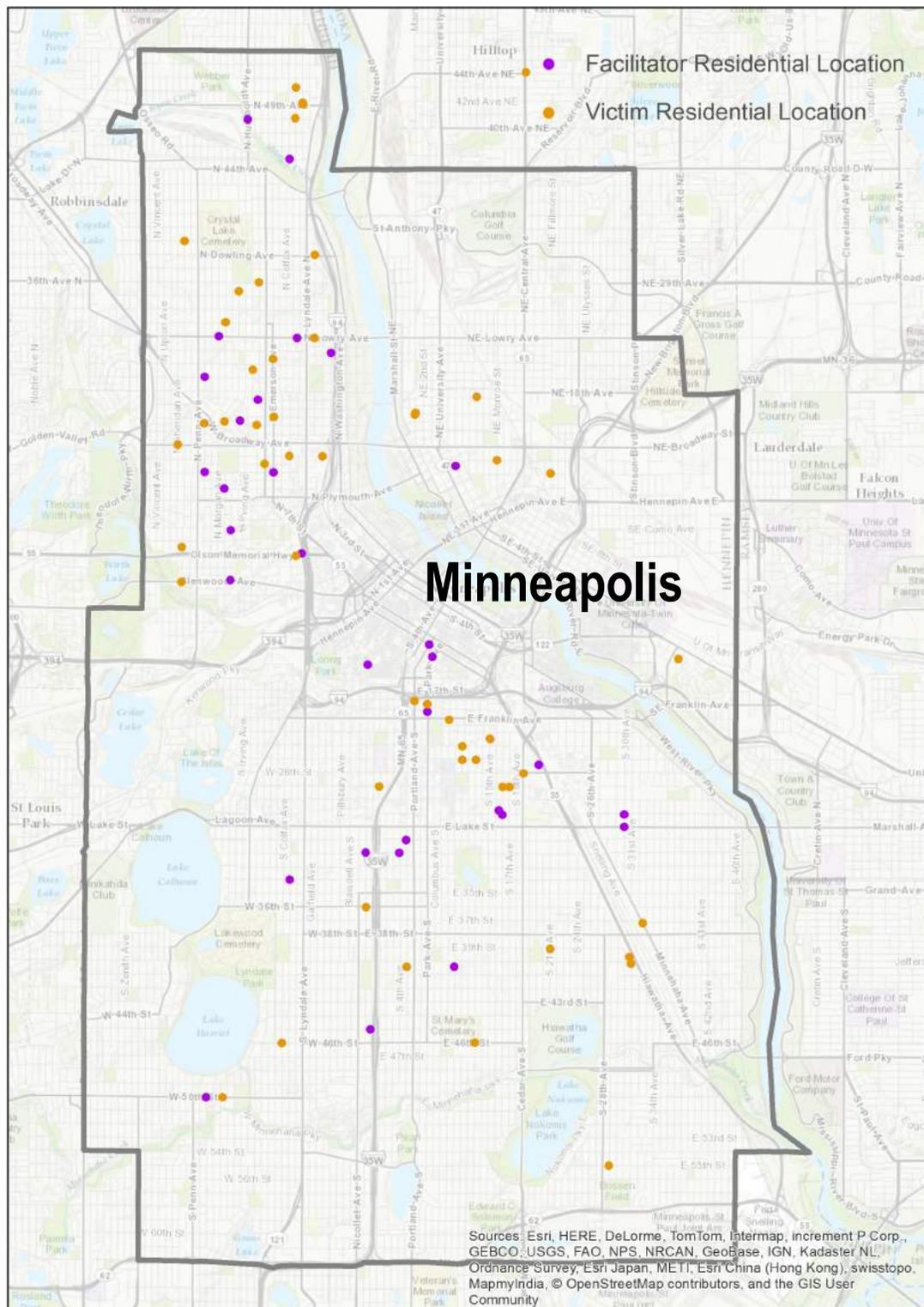
Figure 19: Metro area residential locations-- sex buyers, facilitators, and victims



As seen in the map above, the overall distribution of facilitators and victims involved in domestic minor sex trafficking in Minneapolis is clustered in specific geographic areas, namely in North Minneapolis, and South Minneapolis just below the downtown area, as well as some pockets in St. Paul. While both victims and facilitators display a concentrated distribution in these clustered areas (particularly victims), sex buyers are found to be relatively more dispersed, with a higher proportion of individuals from suburban and rural areas of the Metropolitan Region.

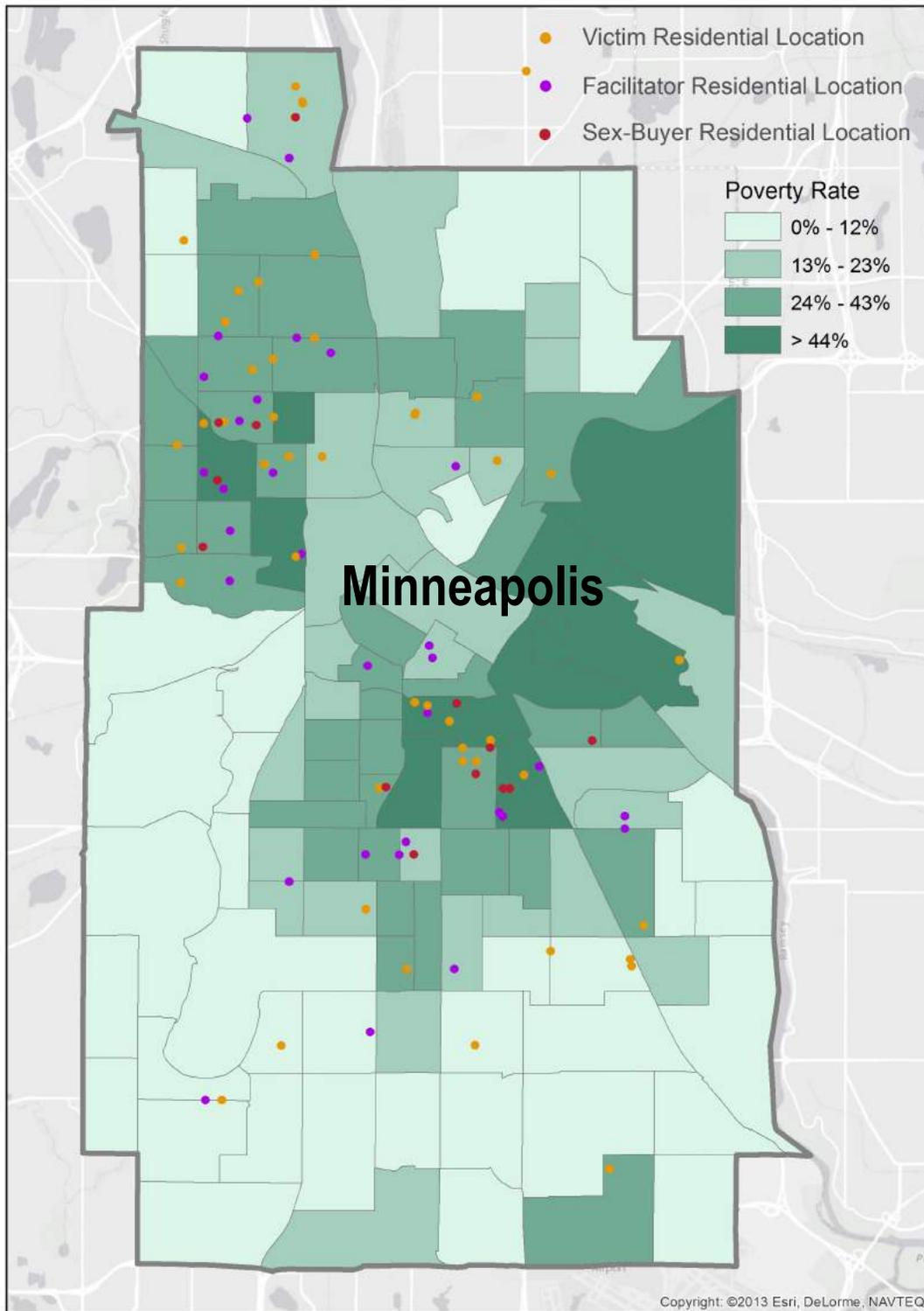
Zooming in to Minneapolis and looking specifically at facilitator and victim residential locations, we find a high degree of clustering between the two variables (see Figure 20). Both facilitator and victim residential locations are found predominantly in North Minneapolis and South Minneapolis' Phillips neighborhoods.

Figure 20: Minneapolis residential locations--facilitators and victims



Finally, Figure 21 shows the relationship between individuals' residential locations and poverty rates in Minneapolis. A visual inspection of this map shows that the residential locations of all types of individuals involved in the market who reside in Minneapolis tend to be located in areas with higher levels of poverty. Sex trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation is about making money. Poverty is a key vulnerability factor for victims. For girls living in poverty, facilitators and sex buyers manipulate the girls' lack of basic needs by offering to help them as a recruitment and capture strategy. And, as discussed above, poverty is also a push factor for facilitators to engage in sex trafficking, particularly in communities where there are structural inequalities and barriers to education and employment.

Figure 21: Minneapolis residential locations—facilitators, victims, and sex buyers by poverty rate (Minneapolis)



Statistical Analysis of Spatial Patterns

The spatial distribution of all five variables was analyzed to determine if there are any statistically significant patterns in the organization of people and activities. Using a nearest neighbor distance analysis (NND), we verified a non-random distribution in the location of victim, facilitator, and sex buyer residences, as well as the distribution of transaction locations. For victims, residence locations were found to be very highly clustered among themselves.²¹ Similarly, facilitator residences were also highly clustered among themselves.²² Alternatively, sex buyer residences were found to be highly dispersed.²³ This indicates that within the sample population, which was geographically restricted to incidents investigated in Minneapolis, victim and facilitator residences displayed a statistically significant clustering in two areas. However, sex buyer residences were dispersed across Minneapolis, also to a statistically significant degree. Transaction locations appear clustered upon visual inspection, but they were not found to be statistically significant.

Types of locations where DMST occurs

The section, above, on maps displayed only information that could be geo-coded from Minneapolis Police Department data. Law enforcement sources and interviews also yielded a great deal of information about the types of locations where sex trafficking activities occur and also where operations may be based.

The primary physical locations described in MPD and court case content, and by our interviews, where youth are recruited and captured into operations include: schools, parks, shelters and youth programming, juvenile detention and treatment facilities, streets, bus stops and bus rides, libraries, malls, and social gatherings of friends (parties, etc.). These locations are visualized in figure 22, below.

Figure 22: Types of locations where victims are recruited



Previous academic and published reports have identified these same types of locations as places where girls are recruited into sex trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation, particularly youth-serving programs, shelters and street-based locations. Our study identified specific locales within Minneapolis. We do not provide the exact locations in this report. We did not find other studies that described public transportation as not a commonly known recruitment place, but several interviewees suggested this is the case in Minneapolis. One person we interviewed said:

The guys recruit the girls at the back of the bus. They are using language with the girls and touching them. The bus driver is not doing anything to protect them. The girls are scared to go on [specific bus lines]. They're scared to get onto any bus line after 8 p.m.

There are several places where recruitment occurs that are particularly troubling because they are supposed to be safe places for youth. We found evidence that facilitators specifically target schools and programming for youth with emotional and behavioral disabilities to contact potential victims. Several Minneapolis Police department cases were based on recruitment in schools. In one case, a facilitator enrolled a woman over age 18 into school as a 16 year old so she could recruit other girls. In another case, a facilitator had several boys and girls working for him within a school for children with emotional and behavioral disabilities. The boys and girls were ages 12-14 and they recruited a group of peers at school. The girls were physically threatened by the boys and the adult male facilitator. The girls pictures were posted online and they were also trafficked to parties. This ring was uncovered by school staff when they found a note about prostitution being passed between two girls. We do not include the names of specific schools here.

We also found that several victims in the MPD cases were recruited at juvenile detention centers and court ordered placements. Our interviews confirmed that girls are recruited in these types of settings.

The locations of sexual transactions involve both virtual (cell phone and internet) and in-person contact. Many sexual transactions are arranged via electronic communication, but the actual exchange of sex and sexual activity must occur in a specific physical location. Like schools, libraries are supposed to be safe spaces for young people. However, we identified libraries and any place with free online internet access as a potential real-world location from which advertisements are posted and sexual transactions are arranged.

Sexual transactions occur in the homes of sex buyers, hotels and motels in the first and second ring suburbs of Minneapolis, motor vehicles in alleys and elsewhere, and at parties. Some of the parties are described as “trap” houses and “train” parties where girls are lured under false pretenses, kept against their will and raped multiple times.

Our interviewees also suggested that some transactions happen at up-market parties and luxury hotels (hotels, boats, bachelor parties, etc.). One person we interviewed described a very young girl she had worked with, who was prostituting at bus stops around the downtown Minneapolis Library but also engaged in commercial sex at private parties:

She may also be working a party bus scenario where multiple sexual transactions might be happening in the bathroom and on the seats...she was from out of town, used a fake name, and was 13 but looked much older.

As for where facilitators and victims reside, MPD case content and interviews also suggested that facilitators and victims generally live in neighborhoods with high rates of poverty. Both sources also indicated that some girls come to these areas of Minneapolis from small towns, and rural Minnesota and Wisconsin.

Summary of where DMST occurs

As depicted in maps of MPD data, the spatial relationship between the five variables show distinct concentration of sex trafficking operational activities in two parts of Minneapolis, North Minneapolis (the Northside) and the Phillips Neighborhood. These maps also show that sex buyers who purchase sex with Minneapolis-based girls are from a wider spatial distribution and their residential addresses are not concentrated in any one location. The maps reveal several geographic trends. Key operational activities of domestic minor sex trafficking are clustered in neighborhoods of high poverty. Victims and facilitators live there and victims are recruited in these same neighborhoods. This suggests that the base of operation may be in these neighborhoods. This reaffirms that domestic minor sex trafficking, from the perspective of the operation, is about making money. Domestic minor sex trafficking operations are one way to survive when the mainstream economy has failed to provide for people’s basic needs. As described earlier, the demographics of victims and facilitators in MPD data show an over-representation of people of color. One factor may

be that recruiting and facilitators' bases of operations are both rooted in neighborhoods with high representation by people of color. Many of the racial/ethnic communities affected by trafficking are also concentrated in the areas where we see the clustering of facilitators and victims. The connecting link appears to be the level of poverty found in these neighborhoods, but at this point we do not have enough information to confirm the reasons for these spatial patterns. More research is warranted, particularly because exposure to sex trafficking and prostitution has been highlighted as a major risk factor in becoming a victim of sex trafficking. We believe this may also be a risk factor in becoming a facilitator.

While some aspects of juvenile sex trading are clustered geographically, others are dispersed. The locations of transactions and sex buyers' residences, as indicated in MPD case files, are more widely distributed across the Metropolitan area. This suggests that sex buyers come from a much wider socio-economic stratum than victims and facilitators. The maps also suggest that transactions occur in places that are most convenient for sex buyers. Thus, from a geographic perspective, we also see that the market is driven by the purchasing power and preferences of sex buyers.

Victims are recruited and solicited in locations where they spend time. This includes places that are supposed to be safe for children such as schools, parks, libraries, social services and shelters. It also includes areas where youth spend time that may not be viewed as safe spaces, such as the streets, homeless shelters, parties in abandoned homes, etc.

HOW THE MARKET WORKS

In this section, we present our theory of how the market functions. It is necessarily an abstraction from a complex reality. Each victim's experience is unique in its own way and each domestic minor sex trafficking operation has its' own variations, eccentricities and patterns. Our picture of the market emerged from the extensive detail we gathered from interviews, law enforcement records, and media reports. Quotes and descriptions of our sources are provided so the reader can see some of the nuance and texture of individuals' experiences in the market. This section is relatively complicated, because the way that the market functions is complicated.

Most research on domestic minor sex trafficking examines victims and their vulnerabilities to trafficking. Our theory of market operations and functions is as follows:

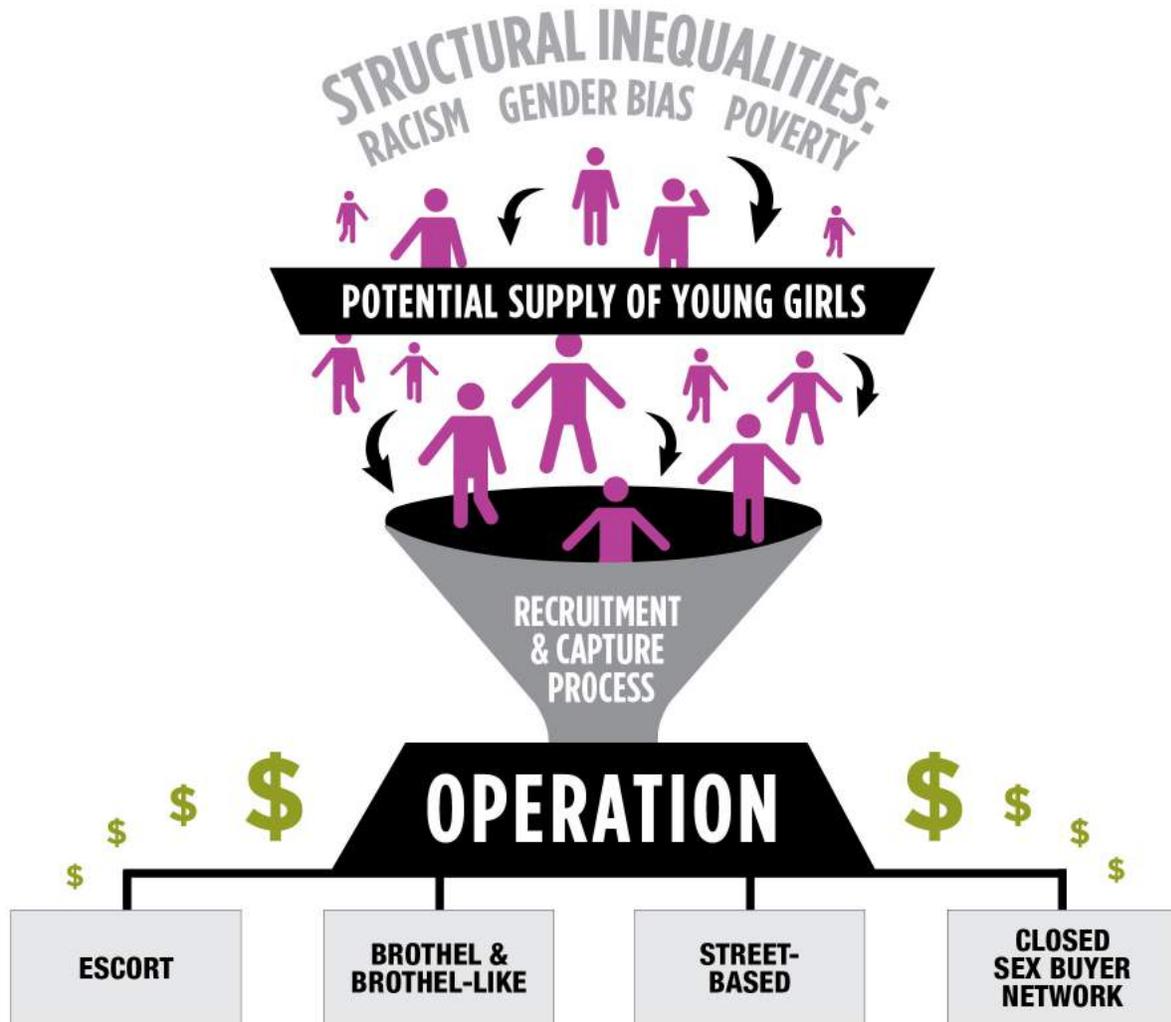
- The market is based on and responds to the purchasing power of sex buyers. This is the primary driver of the market.
- Sex buyers engage with the market through business models – escort, brothel/brothel-like, street-based, and closed buyer networks – that are used by sex trafficking operations to deliver girls to the buyers.
- Sex trafficking operations structure the market and involve several functional processes. These are recruitment and capture of supply, processing supply into a product, inventory control, and product sales.

- We identified four primary tactics used as a part of these “processes,” including: lover-boy pimping (alternating affection, psychological manipulation, and violence), peer recruiting, rape, and gang rape.
- Our research uncovered different types of operational structures – single-pimp, pimp networks, and corporate model – the engines of the market. They are organized, strategic, and entrepreneurial. Some draw in a large number of girls and “sort” them to different business models and corners of the market. Others are small scale operations that focus on only one business model or market niche.
- The market for sex is dynamic in nature. It is characterized by innovation and creation of new demand.
- There are patterns of variations on these themes in different communities in Minneapolis.

This formal market for delivering girls to sex buyers is structured by sex trafficking operations. These operations and the market itself rely on an informal market of commercial sexual exploitation that consists of survival sex, sex-for-goods, misogyny, and dating/intimate partner violence, in which girls are exposed to sexual exploitation and sexual violence in their peer, neighborhood, and family environments. This informal market is structured by poverty, lack of the most basic needs, and absence of positive supports for healthy youth development. This environment is the context for recruitment and capture into the formal market.

In sum, the marketplace for domestic minor sex trafficking is much more complex than a simple intersection between sex buyer and the person providing the sexual service, facilitated by a third-party. Figure 23 is a visual representation of the ways in which all of these components come together to form a basic market structure for sex trafficking of juveniles.

Figure 23: Basic market structure of DMST in Minneapolis



Market structure and function

We start by recognizing the role of purchasing power, which is a sex buyer’s ability to acquire sex with a juvenile. This is the sole driver of the market. Without sex buyers, the market would not exist. All other operations and market components exist to deliver the specific type of “product” a sex buyer is seeking. The remainder of the section starts from the bottom of Figure 23, describing each element, the elements’ relation to each other, and variations based on organizational complexity and capacity.

Purchasing power

Purchasing power, often referred to as the “demand-side” of the market for sex with juveniles, is the driving force of the market. Purchasing power includes monetary power, as well as status and prestige. Sex buyers’ behavior is shaped by the buyers’ affluence, perceptions of acceptable risk, and preferences. Sex buyers are a diverse group in terms of socio-economic status, racial/ethnic background, and type and context of sexual services and experiences sought. This diversity drives segmentation of the market and pushes at least some facilitators to take an aggressively entrepreneurial approach to meeting and creating/cultivating new demand to fuel business growth and profit.

Girls are targeted by operations for use in selected business models aimed at particular types of purchasers. We found that trafficking operations and sex buyers not only interact with one another, but both also draw upon a “supply pool” of vulnerable girls. Left unchecked, this leads to an ever-expanding demand and innovation in development of new “products.”

As one interviewee said, “In reality, the sexual experiences are dictated by the fantasies of the purchasers.” Other people we interviewed described the following types of sexual experiences commonly sought by sex buyers:

Indulging in fetishes and fantasies (diapers, little girl and French maid costumes, etc.);

“Going tropical” with “exotic” girls of color;

Sexual acts that they fantasize about, that their wives refuse to do such as anal sex or bondage.

They want younger girls, but if they get caught they want to be able to say, “She told me she was 18.” So the phrase I hear around is, “How old is the girl?” and the response is, “She can be any age you want.”

Some interviewees talked about “hobbyists,” men who make it a hobby to have sex with a large variety of women and share their experiences with other like-minded men.²⁴ As one interviewee commented, “They pay for sex like they pay for golf. Sex is what they do in their free time.”

We also learned that some sex buyers approach young girls to aggressively solicit sex. Some interviewees identified these men as primarily older white and some African-American males, but others described young white males “from the University” trolling streets in relatively new cars attempting to pick up young girls of junior high age walking to and from school. Below are a few quotes from interviews:

White males in nice cars are approaching young American Indian girls. Asking if she needs a ride or if she wants to party.

You don't even have to talk to the pimp. Girls get men on the street propositioning them, all the time. "Hey, little girl. I have some candy. Let me buy you some shoes."

We have also seen not very young but smartly dressed white men driving Lexus, Mariners [SUVs], cruising through to pick up schoolgirls. I think they are businessmen coming in from the suburbs.

[One girl] meets purchasers at their work. They get her to pick up lunch for them. She goes to their offices with lunch and they close the door. Transaction happens, she gets paid and leaves.

As evidenced in Minneapolis Police Department cases, many sex buyers claim not to know the full operational structure that brings them their sexual experience. They may not be aware of anyone other than the girl they meet. On the other hand, some sex buyers – particularly those who are also involved in sex trafficking and/or gang activity – are very aware of the larger structure. Some sex buyers' "preferences" go beyond sexual activity to include degradation, physical violence, sadism, dehumanization, and murder. One thing is clear, whether sex buyers know how operations function – including the levels of systematic violence and exploitation – sex trafficking operations exist to make a profit from meeting sex buyers' demand. Thus, sex buyers are ultimately responsible.

Business models

The business model is the avenue by which sex buyers connect with the sexual experience that they purchase. It can also be used by a facilitator to gain status and prestige. We discerned four basic business models used by domestic minor sex trafficking operations in Minneapolis:

- Escort (in-call and out-call);
- Brothels and brothel-like (Madam-headed, trap house, and party house);
- Street prostitution (a track, stroll, etc.)
- Closed sex buyers' network (a group of men acting collaboratively with a facilitator and one another)

The first three business models have been clearly identified by previous research.²⁵ They are typically thought of as stand-alone "venues." Our research found that they are, in fact, business models employed by operational structures. While there is a small literature about online communities of sex buyers, very little has focused on the closed sex buyers' networks that our sources revealed. This business model appears to be a hybrid, with elements of both brothel and escort models, and it relies heavily on cell phone and internet-based networking technologies.

Our study is unique in that we identified an underlying link between these four distinct business models, in which specific operational structures strategically select the business model or models that will maximize their profit given the operation's access to specific girls, capital, knowledge, social networks, and technology skills. Thus, the use of a specific business model is organized by

specific operational structures. Before describing the types of operational structures, we first provide a sketch of the each business model.

Escort model

This was the predominant business model identified in MPD cases and described by interviews. Its high visibility in police data may be due, in part, to policing practices that identify victims online for sting operations. Interviewees, including law enforcement personnel, suggested that the online marketplace for sex has significantly altered the landscape of trafficking. It reduces sex buyers' situational risks in finding opportunities to purchase sex, which attracts new sex buyers, and it offers an easy way for facilitators to advertise and find buyers.

Even the smallest operations usually have enough capital to use the escort business model. At bare minimum it requires a credit card, a cell phone (with internet connectivity and phone), and a location for sex buyers to meet the victim in person. This model works by placing an online or print advertisement, in places like: the adult services section of backpage.com, the Erotic Review, LiveLinks, tags.com, and City Pages. Ads usually contain suggestive and graphic photos of a girl. The picture may or may not be the actual girl involved in the transaction. A potential sex buyer answers the advertisement and makes an arrangement, in advance, to meet. Typically the girl will arrange to meet the sex buyer at a hotel, in his home, or at another pre-arranged place. Communication is usually via phone call or text. Final negotiations occur when they meet face-to-face.

Accessing the online market is so easy that juveniles themselves are able to post ads with a minimal amount of coaching. This is how one of our interviewees described it:

The internet is a big influence for a lot of people for putting themselves out there and it's easy for people to approach them because there is no filter...Sometimes that can be very appealing, especially if you think it's just something you do only once and then quit.

Some interviewees described escort work as connected to strip clubs and other legal commercial sex. For example:

She started stripping and it evolved into doing after-parties and then prostitution. Parties will be arranged by staff of the strip club or clients. Clients will like girls for the after-party. The after-parties involve girls [from the club] having sex with the clients. It becomes another thing they do for the strip club. She would go to hotels or the clients' houses, she would go and do what she was requested to do...before she knew it, she was already in it and it was hard to get out.

Brothel and brothel-like models

The stereotypical brothel is a residence where a group of women live. Though potentially owned by an invisible male entity, the stereotypical brothel has a motherly “madam” present to manage the business and prevent misbehavior that might draw police or public attention. Men visit the establishment for sexual services, choosing the woman, or women, they prefer from the group.

In the academic literature on prostitution and sex trafficking, brothels are typically considered “higher-end” and are described as “indoor sex work settings.”²⁶ We found that the brothel and brothel-like business model exists in all economic settings and the full range of economic contexts. The key features of the brothel business model we have identified in this research are:

- Sex buyers go to a specific residence or business location, which they know about in advance, to engage in sexual activities.
- At this location there is a range of minor girls and/or adult women from which sex buyers can choose for sexual relations.
- The individuals being sold for sex usually live in the building – however, we found that the length of stay varies from several days to much longer.
- Sexual transactions occur on the premises and payment is made there.

We learned about several different variations of the more stereotypical brothel. Many were described in interviews as embedded within a legal business “front.” We most frequently heard about formal brothels in interviews describing sex trafficking in immigrant and refugee communities. For example, these are two quotes from interviewees about different brothel locales where a victim had been prostituted.

[A Latino restaurants/night clubs suspected of prostituting minor girls] is in the borders with [a suburb – name redacted] and Minneapolis. This is a newer one; they just opened their second floor with rooms for prostitution. First floor was for dancing. The clientele are very young...Young girls are dancing on poles. Then they start dancing with the boys that don't have a partner. The boys invite her to have a drink.

It was set up as two rooms. The room in the front had 2 minors, 2 young adults in their 20s, and the older woman, the madam, sitting with 7 middle-aged men. There were about 10 shisha bottles [water pipe, a hookah], they were chewing khat [a stimulant in leaf form]. The two girls were 14- or 15-year-olds. The men were maybe 45 years old, businessmen. The girls were wearing traditional Somali clothes made out of thin, see-through cloth but no undergarments, and their hair was all done. This means she is entertaining the men...The men are touching the girls, saying “Oh! You are so beautiful!” and squeezing her thigh.

Several Minneapolis Police Department cases described specific residences (both apartments and single-family homes) that were operated as brothels. In these cases victims were African American, white and Latina, and in all, the owner of the residence, “rented” rooms and required that the girls

provide sex to sex buyers. Sex buyers came to the house to find a girl and sex occurred on the premises. These cases described violence and threats used as intimidation to keep the girls in the house. The brothels catered to neighborhood men and a variety of men from the suburbs.

We also learned about “trap-houses” a variation on the brothel theme in which most victims are African American, Native American and white. Our sources suggest that trap houses are a business model opportunistically located in abandoned houses, often for a relatively short time period. Set up as “party houses,” adolescent girls are first invited to “come party,” given free drugs at the party, and are eventually trapped and forced to have sex with the men hosting and attending the party. One interviewee said that trap houses are:

Abandoned buildings or foreclosed houses are taken over by youth, some gang members, some not. These places are made into party houses and youth from neighborhoods attend these parties in groups. Some girls who come to these parties are later trapped into this house and are made to exchange sex with the youth from the community or even outsiders.

Trap houses typically cater to operators’ male peers and a neighborhood-specific group of lower-income sex buyers. Some facilitators running trap houses also post ads online, post on Facebook, and send texts to alert peers that sex is available on certain days and times. Typically, interviewees described the facilitators running trap houses as a small group of younger, relatively attractive men. In the trap houses operating in low-income neighborhoods, most of the traffickers appear to have some affiliation with a gang.

The trap house can also be a place where sex trafficking operations having a corporate/gang structure put girls that they do not deem to have high-earning potential. This particular type of trap house overlaps with the low-end, closed network parties described below.

The activities we categorize as brothel and brothel-like business models have typically been seen as very distinct and separate venues for connecting sex buyers to sex sellers. However, we believe that the distinctive features described above provide a connective thread between seeming disparate business models.

Short-term, brothel-like business models can also be a recruiting tactic for facilitators to lure unsuspecting girls to what they think is a party. Then it turns out to have been a pre-arranged “train” party where the girl is gang-raped by the boys and men in attendance.

Fixed and long-term brothels require some start-up capital. The facilitator must secure a space, pay rent/mortgage, and maintain a large enough supply of girls on-site. Some brothels operate for years and others last for only a couple weeks or even just one weekend. Neighbors and outsiders can detect brothels through proximity and observation of activity. Fixed location and long-term brothels are open to detection of neighbors, and therefore, police. However, it is much harder for law enforcement to intervene in sex trafficking at a temporary location.

Street prostitution

In this business model the seller is visible on the street or some other public locale, sometimes with a facilitator/pimp nearby. Sex buyers go to public places to find a seller. There are specific geographic places (i.e. “tracks,” “strolls”, etc.) that are known for street-based sex. Other times sex buyers go where children and teens hang out and solicit there. Typically, sexual transactions happen in cars, alleys, outside, or they drive somewhere else. This is the most easily observed and identified business model. It also requires no start-up capital or cost.

We have seen girls waiting around Sex World who are picked up [by sex buyers]. Thursday, Friday, Saturday nights we look for them there.

Lake Street between 6 a.m. and 8 a.m. is really hopping. People going to work and kids going to school. You don't have to do anything to have someone try to pick you up. They'll just circle the block a couple of times and start a conversation with you, “What are your plans for the rest of the day?”

[Describing a location off Highway 94W] People can get down from the freeway, catch quick action, and get back on it...they usually engage in car sex.

Closed sex buyers' network

A closed sex buyers' network consists of a closed group of pre-screened buyers. Sometimes the network is cultivated by a facilitator and other times it results from sex buyers organizing themselves. In this model, girls are marketed through network communications and sexual transactions are arranged at a set location: a hotel, someone's home, a road trip, etc. We found evidence that all communities and economic backgrounds seem to have these networks. We found very high-end sex clubs with very wealthy members, networks for Somali men and Liberian men, and networks not specific to a particular community.

The closed sex-buyer network provides the highest level of safety and anonymity for sex buyers and facilitators, as the network protects both its members and the facilitator, its source of tailored and customized sexual services. As a result, it is hard to identify and detect.

Men's Sex Club

One version of a closed sex buyer network is the “men's sex club.” The sex club operates like any other interest group club. An organizer maintains a list of club members. Our data suggested that there is usually a screening or process for people to become members. Once in the club, members are invited to events where groups of girls are provided to club members in a party atmosphere. Our data sources suggested that these parties are hosted in one or more large hotel suites. This form of closed buyers' network does not seem to necessarily target girls under the age of 18, but they do not

seem to directly screen out young girls, either. We found evidence about teenage girls being involved so we opted to include a discussion of these parties in this report.

A recent example of a men's sex club, the so-called "Minnesota Nice Guys," received media attention in 2009 with six news stories. This particular network involved commercial sex with adult women. However, we describe it here because it is well described in media sources and seems to have the same structure described for closed sex buyers' networks involving juvenile victims. One member/facilitator, using his home computer, operated the sex club, which catered to more than 30 Minneapolis men described in news articles as middle-aged lawyers, businessmen, bankers, and accountants. The facilitator arranged travel for the women from Florida to Minnesota and oversaw an online social networking site where men posted about their involvement and shared information about women. He also sent weekly e-mails to update members on women who would be arriving soon. In the article, a police officer is quoted as saying:

We have never seen this kind of network. We've never seen a customer base—a group of johns—become organized in the past. It was a social group, like a fishing or hunting club, in which johns could extol the virtues of their contacts and brag about their exploits...The cheapest date was \$300 an hour. Some men would have two- or three-hour appointments.²⁷

Our sources identified several men's sex clubs with minor victims that were currently in operation in Minneapolis. The club membership is by referral only. The purchasers are typically white males and upper-level professionals who can afford an estimated \$350 for 30 minutes. Club organizers promote and schedule parties at various high-quality hotels. A men's club was described as follows:

The parties happen at a decided frequency all through the year. The girls come from various sources. Each time, the women vary, girls come and go, but the men are a static group...One woman manages the membership of the men...They have events for her to screen them: motorcycle ride event, where girls are recruited to be on the bikes with the men, lake cabin event...The men have to do so many things to be able to be trusted, to prove themselves to be a member of this group. The same woman also arranges and manages the event. She is in charge of purchasing the suite, the food, and the drinks...these men are well aware of the prostitution happening and are willingly participating, although for legal reasons a disclaimer is presented. There is a small clause on a piece of paper establishing what prostitution is and that what was going on was not prostitution.

The "men's sex club" parties were described as resembling happy hours in the social space of a hotel suite, where the men engage girls in conversations. Party organizers strive for a variety of girls of varying ages from diverse backgrounds and ethnic communities. When the approach for a sexual transaction is made, the girl purchases her own room. This protects the operation from detection by police. The girls are recruited through friend networks and through facilitators, though some advertise on websites such as Erotic Review.

We also found evidence of sex buyers' networks made up of affluent African-American men, noting that they were "the football players, the boat party type of customers." These participants indicated that parties are held in big houses in the suburbs of Minneapolis (such as Plymouth, Maple Grove, Anoka, Edina, Eden Prairie, and Minnetonka). One person said these are "places where you get black men who have a decent amount of money."

In both men's sex clubs and closed network parties, the party facilitator maintains close contacts with individuals who will bring girls and women. Structurally, this is akin to out-sourcing the pimping aspect of the operation. The closed sex buyers' network business model is very difficult for anyone outside the network to detect and thus offers a high level of protection to sex buyers from potential exposure and/or police involvement. Again, this business model does not seem to specifically target the sale of girls under the age of 18. However, our data suggest that American Indian and African-American teen girls are recruited for and brought to closed network parties by facilitators.

Facilitator-created sex buyer networks

The men's sex club model described above caters to groups of men who are already networked through business, social, and/or family relationships. In the MPD data and in interviews, we identified some variations that catered to networks of sex buyers, but differed in how the networks developed and operated.

An example is one Minneapolis Police Department case, where a facilitator developed and maintained several lists of sex buyers with whom he had cultivated relationships over the course of years. The facilitator met the men in his network in a variety of ways. Some were work colleagues from a legitimate job, and others were friends and acquaintances from his neighborhood. According to police records, he built several sex buyer networks by starting with one or two men, who then brought in their friends. The networks described in this case represented several communities of sex buyers, including groups in the Asian and Latino communities. For parties, or when the facilitator obtained a "new" girl, he texted and called his contacts in the different networks of sex buyers that he had cultivated.

Unlike the high-end sex parties described above, this facilitator recruited and controlled all of his own girls, though it appears that he also collaborated with other pimps to expand his access to new girls. He typically found girls within his neighborhood and through networks of friends and families, and used violence, force, rape, and coercion to trap and control them. It was clear from police records that the sex buyers knew the girls were under the age of 18. The networks only came to light because the pimp was arrested and exposed the members of the various sex buyers' networks that he had created and to which he provided girls.

We found evidence of a West African sex buyer network made up of primarily Liberian men. The facilitators, sex buyers and all but one victim were from that community. One victim was captured after having sex with one of the men in exchange for a place to spend the night. The facilitator of the

network and a consecutive series of men within the same sex buyer network forcibly locked eight Liberian girls and one African-American girl in an apartment over the course of several months. The apartment was known as a site for men's parties and the victims were held in a back room. Parties were announced and advertised by text within the closed network. One girl's experience was described as follows:

[After picking up a 13-year old African American girl on the streets in North Minneapolis in the middle of the night] He demanded sex for a place to stay...she had nowhere else to go so she had sex with him. He had to go to work so he brought her to Brooklyn Center to an apartment. There, she had sex with about eight people over the weekend. The guy who owned the apartment brought the guys in and exchanged money...The second guy brought her to...the same apartment complex as the first guy lived in...The guys were 20-40 years old, different amounts [of men], between 5-15 guys... He [the network facilitator] was always in the apartment and other people came to the apartment, like a train party.

Over 30 men were identified and named as having participated in this closed sex buyers' network. The network was highly organized. Profit was extracted by the apartment owner who collected money before men entered the room to have sex with the trapped girls. This final example had elements of a trap house and brothel in that the girls were housed in one location and men came to the location and selected a girl from a group of girls. We chose to categorize it as a closed buyers' network business model because the men were contacted and the girls were marketed through a known, and closed, network of men.

Operations and Operational Processes

In this section, we describe how sex trafficking operations acquire girls and deliver them to the various business models. The linchpin of the market structure is the organization of domestic minor sex trafficking into distinct types of sex trafficking operations. If sex buyers' purchasing power is the driver of the market and victims are the fuel, then operations are the engine. Operations take supply – finding, shaping, and controlling that supply – to deliver it to the demand. In the process, sometimes operations seek to increase and cultivate new demand to fuel market expansion and maximize profits.

All sex trafficking operations have the same basic rationale: 1) Identify, recruit (i.e. capture) and control supply; 2) Process the supply to create a saleable product; 3) Deliver the product to a buyer, and in the process 4) Reap a profit. But how does this work?

Facilitators within an operational structure identify a potential supply of girls to draw into the formal market. As depicted in Figure 23, above, operations target specific vulnerabilities in their potential supply of girls. Academic and popular literature on sex trafficking and prostitution has focused much attention on these, and our study confirms the trends and patterns of vulnerabilities that are well documented in that literature. In essence, facilitators (and sex buyers acting on their own) target

youth who are runaways, homeless, living in poverty, and live in the vicinity of, or know people associated with, sex trafficking operations. Facilitators seek out youth with cognitive delays, drug/alcohol use, past history of abuse (sexual, neglect, physical), and those without supportive relationships with stable adults. In MPD records we saw facilitators' specific targeting of pregnant and parenting teens as well as teens attending schools, programs, and services specifically for children with emotional/behavioral disorders, learning disabilities, and/or other educational and social problems.

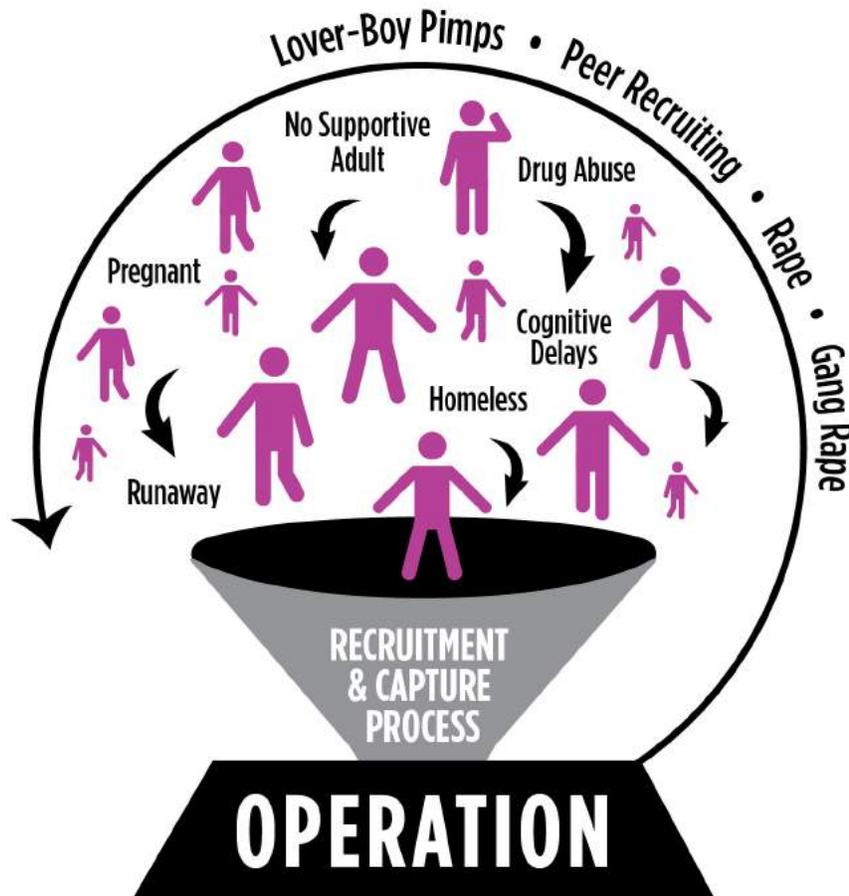
Contextual factors such as poverty, gender bias, racism, structural inequalities, school failure, and more, also influence the potential supply of youth. These factors limit youth and their development, thus creating fertile ground for facilitators and trafficking operations.

Recruitment and capture process

Recruitment and capture of victims is a key operational process. We discussed some of the locations where recruitment of girls takes place. But how does this work? What are the strategies and tactics used by facilitators to lure and coerce girls into sex trafficking? We identified a connection between the formal operations of sex trafficking and an informal economy of sexual exchange and exploitation. Facilitators rely on a social environment that exploits girls commercially and also normalizes survival sex, teen peers exchanging sex for desired goods, teen dating and intimate partner violence, and sexual assault.

The recruitment process depicted in diagram 24, below, shows how some girls, from the informal economy of sexual exploitation, are pulled into the formal structures of sex trafficking operations run by facilitators.

Figure 24: Recruitment process



Recruitment and capture of victims into sex trafficking operations is a complex activity that occurs over time and in multiple locations. Some of this happens through social media and telephones. Facilitators develop and maintain contact with girls via Facebook, Twitter, tagged.com, Snapchat, texts and phone calls. They also keep in physical contact with girls, meeting up with them in places where the girls hang out. Likewise, facilitators have their victims and other young men in their networks maintain contact and reach out to potential new victims via social media and phone contact. These activities also involve face-to-face interactions.

Facilitators sometimes directly approach runaways and others with significant vulnerabilities to offer shelter and basic needs. For example,

They [facilitators] will drive up and down on Bloomington, Broadway, Lake Street, or downtown [Minneapolis]. They identify women and just talk to them...They just go ask, "You look cool, want to come to a party? Hop in my car."

Pimps look for “fighters” because this is a mask for low self-esteem that they can work. Soothe the girl, placate her, try to coach her, slowly manipulate her into prostitution. Prep her to see if she will go into illegal activities by starting small.

Facilitators also access girls through their peers in school, community, and social networks.

The girlfriend knows about the party house and invites her. She ended up in a situation where she thought they were going to a party, hang out with these guys her girlfriend knows, have a place to stay overnight, and she ended up being forced to have sex with a man that she didn't know

One Minneapolis Police Department case file demonstrates the complexity of how recruitment works, highlighting the violence and exploitation. It illustrates how multiple types of locations are linked in the geography of sex trafficking. The victim was from northern Minnesota. She ran away and ended up in North Minneapolis, where she was taken to the private residence of two facilitators. This location was also used for “breaking” her into trafficking and for commercial sexual transactions.

The minor victim was a runaway from out-of-home placement in northern Minnesota. Two men picked her up on the street in North Minneapolis and asked if she wanted to get high. They took her to one of the men's homes, where they raped her violently on the first night— anally, vaginally, and orally, while choking her. One of the men posted an ad to sell her on Backpage, and she was forced to use the room in which she was raped for transactions with sex buyers. When she tried to leave, they both threatened her with a gun and told her she had to make them \$500.

We identified a variety of strategies through which facilitators recruit and capture youth from the potential supply of youth to be sold in the sex trade. These include: “Lover-boy” pimping (alternating affection, psychological manipulation, and violence), peer to peer recruitment, and strategic use of rape and gang rape (often in trap houses and “train” parties). In using these strategies, facilitators target specific vulnerabilities, such as runaway, homeless, pregnant or parenting, cognitive delays, disabilities, lack of supportive adults, and more.

Lover-boy pimping

Lover-boy pimps initially cultivate a relationship where they seek to identify, meet and manipulate a girl's needs for love, praise, food, a place to stay, and positive attention. They also intermittently use sexual violence, violence and threats of violence to eliminate resistance and compel compliance. At the same time, they exploit girls' hopes, dreams, and desire for glamour and excitement. They rely on the strength of the trauma-reinforced “love bond” to bring girls back to them again and again. The quotes below from our interviews show two elements of this “love bond”. The first shows how

kindness and connection is used to bind girls to a pimp. The second expands on that theme and also described facilitators' strategies for instilling dependency and self-doubt:

One of my girls that was trafficked when she was 16, she talked about her pimp taking her to dinner with his family. She had never had that because she bounced around in foster homes. As a consequence, she had a great deal of loyalty for him. She would have done anything for him and all he had to do was take her to a Thanksgiving dinner with his "family."

They [pimps] start by being nice, calm and friendly. They are good listeners, they fill the void of what is lacking, either material or emotional. Always being available...Then they use fear to keep the girl there. After the girl has done a couple of things, they say "Why would you want to go back home? They don't want you to go back. Your parents are not looking for you because they don't care. If they do care, why would they want to take you back after all the things you've done? I'm the only person that cares for you, that loves you...And even if you leave, I'll find you. Even if you talk to the police, who would believe you?"

Sometimes girls run from one facilitator or are picked up by another, or attach themselves to a new facilitator (or his associate) in an attempt to find a better situation. Sometimes they run from systems facilities in an effort to take control over their own lives. However, many maintain connections to previous facilitators who they call when in need of a ride, a place to stay, or food. Facilitators cultivate such long-term "helping" relationships so the girls will call them when they are in need. However, a call for help can easily result in kidnapping, rape, and the girl's re-integration into the pimp's operation

Rape, gang rape, and sexual violence

Facilitators orchestrate and capitalize on sexual violence committed against girls to "break" and bring girls into their control. This is different than sexual violence committed by a facilitator against his girls, in that this sexual violence is committed by strangers and/or the facilitator's friends and acquaintances. The most common tactic we heard about for this was a "train". We discussed trains briefly above because they fulfill several functions in sex trafficking operations. They are part of the brothel-like business model known as a trap-house as well as a "recruitment" and "breaking" tactic.

When one girl is in the "train," she is coerced or forced to have sex with multiple boys or men invited to the party. According to our informants who discussed this, the boys and men are often gang-involved. Train parties often involve severe psychological and physical violence against the victim, who may be brutally assaulted by 20 boys or men in a row. Boys and men have to pay a fee to "get into the train." One interviewee commented that train parties operate on the same concept as trap houses, except they are often held in private homes where there are no parents around. Another source suggested that:

The boys knew in advance that the “line-up” was going to happen, but the girls did not know in advance. The girls are 12 to 13. They are invited to a party where they are subjected to a “line-up,” meaning that a group of boys rapes them... The boys are high school aged and a little older, Hmong boys. About half are in gangs and half are not. Sometimes the family knows this is going to happen.

Other interview participants described a similar scenario targeting African-American and American Indian girls:

They’re private parties that the pimp organizes...[One girl] thought it was going to be one guy and it ended up being six guys...The pimps have already been paid. At the location, there’s no money transaction. It has already been handled. It’s pretty usual.

A Native American girl was set up to be gang raped by her boyfriend who was involved in Native gangs. She was taken to an abandoned warehouse for a party, was drugged through the punch she drank, and was raped by many men.

Sexual violence is endemic in the context of sex trafficking. Systemic and commonplace occurrence of sexual violence has long-term devastating consequences for girls. It is part of a victim’s neighborhood and peer environments, it is part of turning her into a sexual product, and it is part of the commercial sexual transactions for which she is sold.

Peer recruiting

Peer recruiting is a primary mode for facilitators to contact and establish a relationship with young girls. Peer recruiting is when a young person is introduced to commercial sex via their own social networks and places where they and their peers congregate and hang out. Many examples of peer recruiting have been described in previous sections. Though we found evidence of recruitment by family members already involved in prostitution, peer recruitment was a primary concern among our interviewees. Peer recruitment can occur in any place that youth consistently spend time: schools, parks, libraries, malls, buses and bus stops, social gathering spots, and more. Thus, many places that are supposed to be safe are also places where recruitment by sex trafficking operations occurs.

Our sources indicated that peer recruiters are rarely independent actors and must be viewed within the context of the larger operational structures. Peer recruitment can manifest in a variety of ways. Sometimes a slightly older girl befriends a potential juvenile victim, offering to take her shopping, to get her hair and nails done. Other times, a girl attending the same school shows the victim her great new jewelry or clothing.

The pimp starts a relationship with a girl who is attending an alternative school for grades 7 and up. Once she’s locked in, they get her to talk with her friends inside the school. “Look what I have, this great piece of jewelry, look at my great new shoes. You can have it too, let

me introduce you to my boyfriend and he can set you up.” The pimp drops his girl off at the school and is there to pick her up in the afternoon. It is profitable to keep them in school.

Someone their own age approaches them in downtown. Someone they see a lot but they don't really know. But this person speaks to them and it turns into a conversation that goes from “You work downtown? I come downtown to shop.” And it turns into “I just want to talk to you and have a friend.” The girl does not know that their peer is doing prostitution, and they invite them to a party or a road trip.

Several people we interviewed told stories of girls invited by a friend to attend a party or other social activity, where the young victim was pulled into an environment in which she was prostituted or gang-raped. These are some examples of their comments:

[A peer says] Hey, do you want to make \$200 on Saturday night? We just got to go to this guy's house and dance, that's it.

A girl and her friend were both having sex at the party and afterwards her friend gave her money. She asked, “What is this money for?” And the friend said, “You thought we were having sex for free?” So she got thrown into it because her friend invited her.

The older girl tells a younger girl she should come to a party because so-and-so likes her. A bunch of boys show up and rape her and they pull a t-roller [a train] on her.

Not all youth involved in peer recruiting realize they are bringing their friends into danger. Sometimes they believe they are providing much needed street-smarts to help a desperate friend in need of food and/or a place to stay.

Controlling inventory

In addition to recruiting and “breaking” girls to make them into “products” to be sold, facilitators must also have a way of controlling the girls for the short and long term. Inventory control is related to, and an extension of, recruitment and process of victims into saleable products. Facilitators use many of the same recruitment and “breaking” tactics to maintain short and/or long-term control over girls. These include: manipulating a love-bond, violence and physical coercion, threats against the victim, her family or her children, and use of drugs. The quote below sums up how recruitment turns to control.

Traffickers lure the victims by a promise of a better life. They prey on the vulnerabilities of the victims and respond to those needs. They spend money on them, provide drugs and alcohol, food and shelter, love and affection. Then the victims start trusting the trafficker and that is when they are trapped...once trapped the girls are coerced, threatened with harm,

physical violence, emotional violence, beating another victim in front of them, threatening the family they left behind.

Many traffickers simply use outright force and coercion to maintain control and compliance. In 13 of the 38 victims described in Hennepin County District Court cases (34%), we found that one or more pimps had used severe violence and threat to keep the victim in prostitution. For example in one case, a minor victim was forced into prostitution by her landlord's 20-year-old son. He used severe violence, including attempted drowning and multiple assaults. While in jail for 10 days, he contacted the victim and ordered her to make \$1,000 by the time of his release. Our interviewees also described facilitators' extensive use of violence. These are two examples.

One Latina girl, her boyfriend was a gang member and she was raped by the members, six or seven of them. When the gang members come to the house, they would rape her. [Her boyfriend] would say, "You have to be with my friends. Otherwise they will kill you or kill me." She was completely submissive to him: "I love him and he loves me." She was 15, 16 years old.

Sometimes [gang member pimps] get girls to be an accomplice to a murder so they don't leave and so they stay scared. It's hard to go back [out of prostitution] for girls that have witnessed murder.

In addition to these tactics, facilitators also use pregnancy and girls' children as leverage to maintain control. In several MPD cases, victims described how their pimp tried to get them pregnant so that she would have his baby. Several interviews discussed how pimps and sex buyers actively seek out pregnant and parenting teen girls walking down the street, in parks, and in recreation areas. Children are an extra source of vulnerability for these minor victims. Those that are homeless fear losing custody of their children, and are willing to do whatever is needed to keep them, including staying with a pimp. Several people we interviewed discussed this theme. Below are some examples.

If the guy [pimp] is taking care of her and maybe her child, she does not care if there are multiple girlfriends and what he does with them.

I've seen children used as a threat, where "If you don't do this, I'm going to get custody, or I'm going to let them [authorities] know that you're using... There was one incident in which the pimp was the baby's father and he said, "You're never going to see that kid again if you don't continue to work for me."

She was black-and-blue and bloody. She came up to the [shelter] door and said she needed a place to stay. I couldn't see his car, but I saw how nervous she was. And she was definitely coming into the shelter to find somebody who was trying to get away from him. I talked with her and she told me he had her two kids in the car. It was into October and the kids were just in diapers, with no clothes on. I let her in the front door but I had another locked door

behind me [blocking access]. She had three children with her, but he had the two littlest ones in the car. And if she didn't do what he told her, he was going to hurt the kids.

Her pimp got her pregnant, and basically he was like, 'If you don't get an abortion I'll kill you, and I'll kill your kid.' I've also heard 'If you don't have this baby, I'm going to kill you.' And, if they already have kids, making threats against the children.

Several MPD cases also suggested this pattern. In one case the victim in her interview with police mentioned that her pimp/boyfriend kept “harassing” her about getting pregnant. She said he routinely wanted to have sex without a condom so she would get pregnant.

Other criminal activities

Many of our interviewees reported that pimps are also involved in numerous other illegal activities. This is clearly borne out by the criminal histories of facilitators we found in MPD data. As one person put it, “The pimp has his hustle too. He is out there at bars making connections and listening to guys as they get drunk or if they want drugs.”

The most frequently-mentioned types of additional illegal activity were drug and gun trafficking, stealing and parting-out cars, boosting (trafficking in stolen merchandise), and identity theft. Some people we interviewed described larger, highly organized operations that involved extended family members, especially siblings and cousins, in joint sex trafficking and drug trafficking activities. Below are several quotes that illustrate this point.

Boosting is huge in our communities. It's an adjacent “business” for the pimps. In most cases, the bottom girl [a pimp's main girl, usually also a victim] manages it, sending the younger girls out to shoplift. The booster has a “sale” of these shoplifted goods that many community members rely on as a source of cheap luxury items. The girls take the risk and the pimp is once-removed because he has the bottom running all of it. But he gets the money, or at least most of it...Sometimes the top girls with the pimps are boosters...I have seen most of the boosters to be women in the ages of 17 to 20.

There's identity theft. Getting hold of somebody's information, credit cards. It wasn't the pimp, it was his girls doing it. They'd cash checks, or use a credit card to go buy gift cards because gift cards can't be traced. So, they'd go to Target and buy \$200 to \$300 worth of gift cards at different levels. They're easy to use that way, and gift cards are easy to sell.

[Describing an “undercover” pimp] He's intelligent and running a long con. He may have girls in legitimate jobs who can find tricks and recruit other girls. He also runs lots of other illegal activities like fraud, stealing drugs from hospitals.

These illegal activities are carried out by the facilitator and also the victim. The degree and level of additional illegal activities is dependent on the level of complexity of the operation and whether or not the facilitator is connected to others, such as gangs and family-based operations.

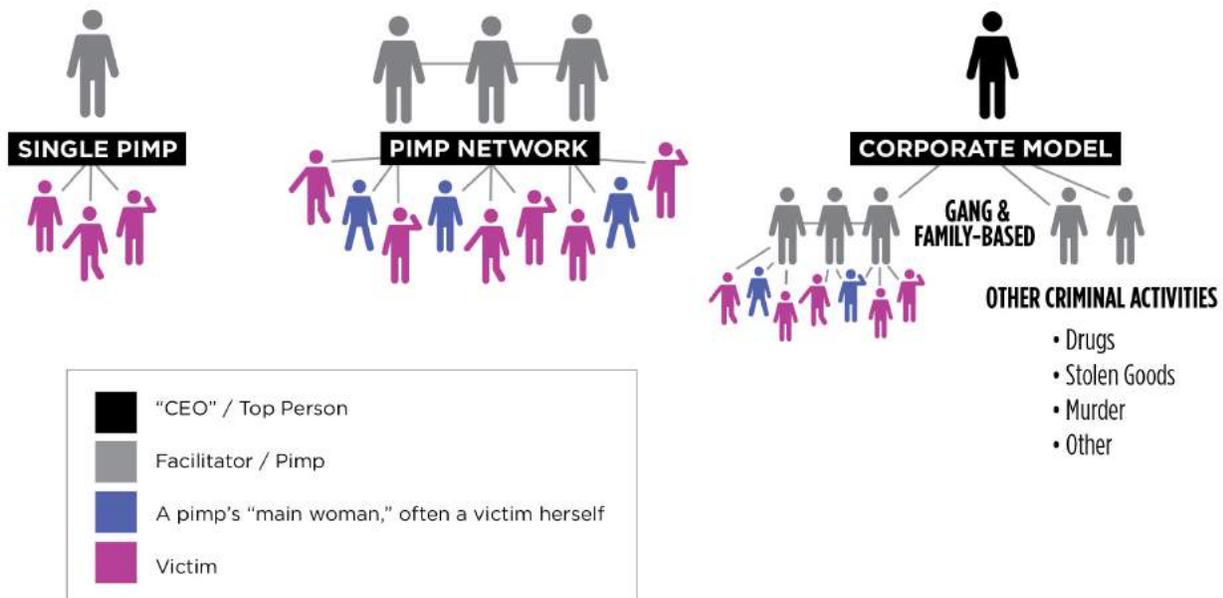
Operation Types – a continuum of complexity

In the above sections on business models and operation/operational processes we described aspects of how sex trafficking operations function to capture a supply of girls and deliver them to sex buyers. Not all sex trafficking operations have the same level of complexity and market reach. Based on our data, we identified three distinct points along a continuum of complexity in operational structures. They are:

- Single-pimp operations;
- Informal pimp networks; and
- The corporate model (including gang-run and family-based structures).

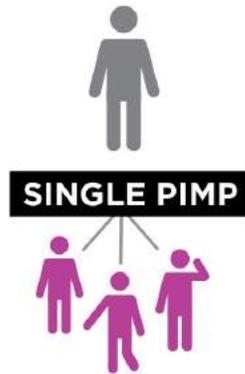
Figure 25 shows the progression of operation types, from single pimp to corporate model.

Figure 25: Continuum of operational complexity



Below we describe each and discuss how each type of operation works within the larger market structures.

Single-pimp operation



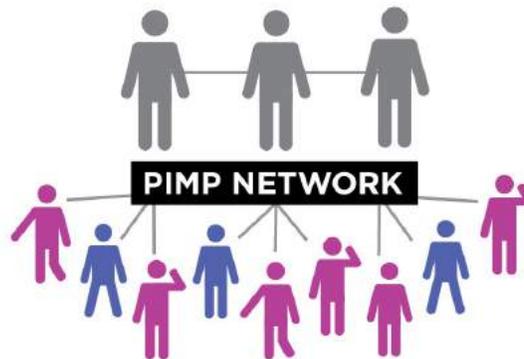
The single-pimp operation consists of one facilitator who conducts most of the operational functions with girls directly under his control. In this operational type, the facilitator (operating as a pimp) recruits, controls, markets, and supervises the delivery of girls to sex buyers. Single pimps use the strategies for recruitment and “breaking” of girls described above. Single-pimp operations are typically small-time with only a few girls. The most common business model for single-pimp operations to connect girls with sex buyers seems to be online advertisement, with some reliance on street-based prostitution.

Younger single pimps tend to have fewer girls, maybe even just one girl who is also his girlfriend. Older single pimps operate slightly more complex operations and are able to maintain control over more girls. Some single pimps select one of their girls to help run the operation, often referred to as a “bottom” or “bottom-bitch.” A bottom may be just another of the pimp’s victims, kept from escaping through inventory control strategies. A “bottom” was described as follows:

As she progressed in the business she became the recruiter of other underage girls. She was the one who took care of them emotionally. Took care of them, their needs [she] did a lot of work for the pimp.

In single pimp operations, police records showed and our interviews reported that pimps usually take all of the transaction money, which is used to cover the girl’s basic needs and operational costs (i.e. hotels, ads, condoms, drugs and alcohol, upkeep and gas for his car). The rest is profit. A cell phone and access to the internet is the main technological base. Often times single-pimp operations purchase and use large quantities of pre-paid credit cards to hide identities. They also use multiple cell phones. Numerous MPD cases listed multiple pre-paid credit cards and cell phones as evidence collected as part of the case.

Informal pimp network



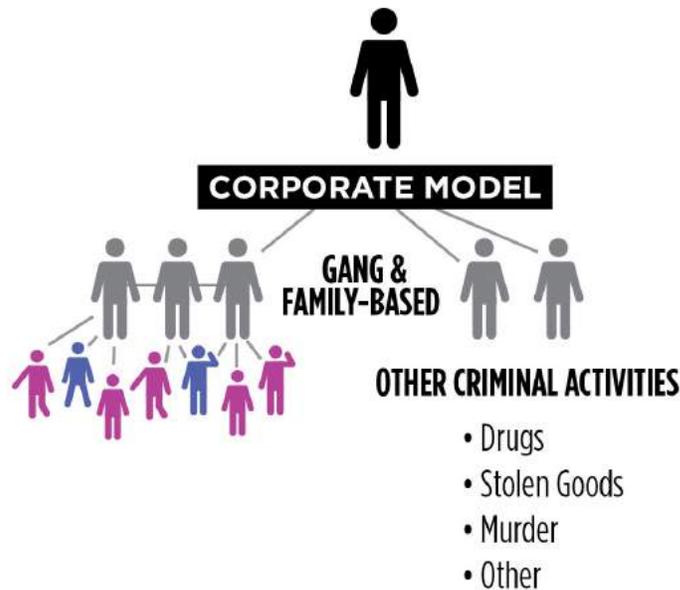
The informal pimp network consists of a group of single-pimp operations that collaborate as needed. Each pimp maintains his own operation and when needed, they pool resources and share responsibilities, such as recruitment, “breaking” (through rape and gang rape), and monitoring/watching victims, transport, marketing, and organizing private sex parties. The pimps in the network do not maintain a formal hierarchy, although our evidence suggests that they do jockey for position, prestige and their pick of girls. We also found considerable evidence that pimps trade and sell girls within their informal network, seemingly without the girls’ consent or direct knowledge. The network allows its members greater diversification and ability to reach more market segments to increase profits. For example, a network of pimps can pull together a larger group of girls for a party to meet a greater number of sex buyer preferences without taking on additional responsibility or incurring additional costs. A pimp network was described like this:

Pimps are connected. They’re aware of each other’s territory, what territories they’re in, what activity goes on there. I feel like, in a lot of criminal activity, you’re either against each other or you look out for each other...usually there’s like one or two main girls, but then when the pimp can’t get what he/she needs from them, they’ll call someone else in their network. There’s usually back-ups that way.

In one MPD case, a pimp described how he obtained a “new” girl from another pimp by trading her for drugs. From the girl’s perspective, she did not view this as being sold to another pimp. Likewise, testimony from some victims sheds additional light on the pimp network. In their testimony, several girls described times when they hung out with multiple men they described as pimps. They described the other men as friends of their pimp/boyfriend, who all had their own girls. These victims described driving around together in cars; hanging out hotel rooms, homes and parties; and other intermittent interactions. They were often expected to have sexual relations with many of these men. Several described being raped and/or gang raped by men who were in the same pimp network as their pimp/boyfriend.

Pimps working in a network typically used the escort business model and street-based prostitution, but the network provides flexibility and resources to move into more lucrative business models. We found that many were engaged in collaborative enterprises through private parties and brothel-like operations that require more capital, organization, and a larger number of girls. We saw some evidence that certain networks of pimps share contacts to accommodate closed sex buyer networks.

Corporate model



The corporate model is the most organized and complex domestic minor sex trafficking operation. Our interviews, criminal justice data and media coverage suggest that the corporate model is typically a formal gang operation, or controlled by a specific intergenerational family. One example of a family-based corporate model is provided in media coverage of the Washington family trafficking ring in St. Paul, in which four male family members were found guilty of trafficking over 10 girls and women.²⁸

The corporate model is different from a pimp network in that the facilitators are organized in a formal hierarchy with clearly defined roles and responsibilities. Older and higher-ranking men supervise and direct younger and lower-level players. Prestige and status play an important role in determining and maintaining the hierarchy. Corporate operations are the largest, and they seem to have the biggest reach and influence on the overall market. They control more girls, who are sorted into business models serving various economic rungs of the market.

A hallmark of the corporate structure is the calculated and deliberate placement of girls in particular market segments based on an assessment of “marketability.” All levels of the hierarchy bring in girls. For example, younger and more lower-level people in the operation are rewarded for bringing in new people. Boys bring their girlfriends; boys and girls bring female relatives, friends and

acquaintances. The older, more experienced members of the corporate structure get girls in all the same ways as pimps in the single-pimp and pimp network, described above.

The corporate model recruits, processes, and sorts girls into specific sectors of the operation based on their appearance and demeanor. Our interviewees made it clear that this was a systematic, organized and almost mechanical factory-style determination of each girl's "worth" to the operation in terms of the price she will bring. The sorting categories were divided into "best money-maker," "good money-maker," and "bottom-feeder."

Describing "elite" girls sorted into higher-end venues, our sources suggested that girls must exhibit "lady-like" composure and control, behaving appropriately in an elegant, sophisticated setting. Girls in this category must appeal to wealthy men, thus engendering highest profits. On the high end of the range, best money-makers are usually reserved for closed sex buyers' networks where sex buyers pay more than \$500 per hour. These quotes describing the girls channeled into high-end settings.

They are very young, "exotic" girls of color. They don't pop up on the radar and they don't navigate schools or other systems because they are poor and homeless.

White girls make more money than girls do from any other race. Majority purchasers are middle aged white men. They want white girls and are able to pay higher sums of money for them.

She has lighter skin, all shades of peanut butter. She is very attractive, savvy, outgoing, charismatic—gorgeous and a very good dancer. She is young enough to recruit other young girls, and has the ability to persuade and manipulate.

Pimps want the new girl. They want "new fresh meat." These girls are higher profit, they're not worn out yet; they haven't been with many guys. They look good, their attitude is not tainted or spoiled.

Girls sorted into medium venues, such as online escort and slightly lower-end brothel-like business models were described by one person we interviewed as follows: "She has a neat body and is very attractive. She dances really well, like a professional." Good money-makers are sold online. The girls routed here are similar to the high-end girls, but do not need to present themselves as educated and sophisticated.

Girls referred to as "bottom-feeders" are routed to the lowest end of business models and seem to be distributed primarily to gang-related parties as sex objects, referred to as "party-pussy," THOTs ("that ho' over there") and "toss-ups" (meaning anyone can have her). As described above, gang rape in the context of an organized corporate operation party is sometimes referred to as a "train" or train party. The facilitator who provides these girls for sex receives status and prestige within the corporate structure, rather than money. This market segment seems to be centered on men's status

and cultivating a climate that normalizes and glorifies sexual exploitation among boys and young men. Parties were described as follows:

The guys are violent. They kick the girls in the chest, sexually and physically assault them. The girls may end up with 105 partners and only six are consensual. The trains are of 20 guys. Your body shuts down.

Many of our interviewees suggested that girls in this category are more likely to have higher rates of poverty, drug/alcohol addiction, and previous sexual abuse. The girls were also more likely to have darker complexions. We saw some evidence that these girls were also marketed online and through other forms of social media frequented by more closed networks.

We have some evidence that “pooling” and “sorting” of girls initially occurs at parties where new girls are brought under false pretenses. Some of the girls believe they are there to dance, as entertainers. It is common for girls to be raped and gang raped, as a trial, initiation, or breaking of potential resistance. This was described by several people we interviewed as an “audition”. Many of the girls that corporate operations characterize as “bottom feeders” are recruited from a context of survival sex, homelessness, and trading sex for basic needs. These types of parties organized by facilitators in corporate operations may be an important interface between formal and informal markets of sexual exploitation, and warrant additional attention.

The corporate model garners significant profits by casting a wide net for recruitment and capture of girls. Having a wide range of girls allows them to cater to a broad range of sex buyers’ preferences within multiple business models. Some people we interviewed suggested that the ability of facilitators in the corporate model to respond to men’s desire for sexual “adventures” is an important part of operational profitability. These are examples of such comments:

Pimps need to have a diverse group of offerings. Girls talk about how in a routine schedule they would have to color their hair or be taken off the circuit for a while, to create new demand.

[Sex buyers] target the “cultural ones” who are undocumented. Some tricks want a variety of girls: Asian, Latina, Black, mixed “high yellow” girls, White, French, Italian. Pimps are trying to match the sex buyer’s fantasy, “going tropical.” Pimps want to find girls who can “pass” as many different types.

Native girls are targeted by the johns, the gangs, and the facilitators because they are exotic, they are “cool.” Since the colonial era, they have been portrayed as sexually loose, wild and free and easy. The attitude is that there’s no harm because they are built for this [prostitution].

Specific gangs were mentioned as key players in the sex trafficking of minor girls, across all minority, immigrant, and refugee communities in the Twin Cities. In gang structured sex trafficking,

this activity is just one “division” of a much larger criminal enterprise. The other divisions handle drug dealing, murder, home invasion and more. We did not inquire into these other “divisions” since that was out of the scope of this project.

One interviewee noted “there is a transition in gang activity, from trading guns and drugs to trading girls, which is low-risk and repetitive. Girls do not need to be stored and can be used to make money repeatedly.” Many gangs were mentioned related to the corporate model. Our interviewees suggested that the larger-scale operations that they knew about had grown out of highly organized African American, Latino and Asian gangs. For example:

The big time stuff, where pimps have many girls working for them, is usually African American pimps... We see that African American men coming in who are the drug dealers, who start the top-down dealings of drugs. These gangs are from Chicago and usually African American, but sometimes Latino. They are supposed to oversee drug sales and networks, acting kind of like middle managers. If they do well, they can rise in the gangs.

We found evidence of specific gangs who traffic a specific demographic of girls. We do not list the specific gangs here. However, we identified the following trends gang-based trafficking. African-American gangs tend to traffic a wide variety of girls including African-American girls, Native American girls and Caucasian/white girls. But other gangs such as Asian gangs, Somali gangs, Native gangs and Latino gangs tend to traffic girls from within their own communities.

More information is needed, but it seems that, like any corporate monopoly, several of these large corporate gang-structure operations and family-based operations influence and structure the overall market, neighborhood contexts and business models in Minneapolis. There is some indication that heads of single-pimp and pimp-networks may be loosely affiliated with a large corporate structure. At the very least, single pimps and pimp networks attempt to avoid gang entanglement and encroachment on their girls and market share.

A note about female pimps and so-called independents or renegades

Female pimps

“Pimping” was generally described in interviews and by law enforcement sources mainly as men’s work. Rape and gang rape of girls under his control is a critical component of the male single pimp operation. But, it is clear from our sources that some women can and do run single-pimp operations. Our sources said the following about female pimps.

She may be doing it on her own and she’s recruiting other girls to doing it with, thinking “I’ve been with the pimp, I ran away, and now, I’m going to start my own team.” Girls like this know what vulnerable girls need because they have been through it, too. They know the

girls need love, clothes, money, to get their hair and nails done. They can get to travel [as escorts], or they can just stay on Lake Street.

We tend to think of a male, but there are also women involved and they tend to be more aggressive as far as getting people involved. Sometimes they are relatives or trusted adults that young people know.

In one example of a female-headed single-pimp operation the girl running the operation was under the age of 18. She had learned the structure and methods of sex trafficking operations through early exposure to the market. She was born into a family deeply involved in prostitution; both her mother and sister were in prostitution. As a juvenile she had been an “elite” girl within a corporate pimping structure. She was also a very effective recruiter of new girls into the ring. She was described as smart, savvy, funny, charismatic, and when necessary, comfortable with using violence. She found underage girls, recruited them, and provided them with emotional support and basic needs. This girl started her own operation following a conflict with her pimp. It was described as follows:

The pimp cut her off drugs and was not giving her money...She immediately didn't like the agreement and took all the girls that she recruited and took off. And she started running those girls. She never had a pimp again, she did her own thing. She ran herself...At [a local] high school, she was prostituting the girls with the boys at the high school and with other johns.

In another example:

The victim was controlled for the previous few months by a female pimp out of that pimp's apartment. The victim lived there and the pimp required that she prostitute in exchange for rent. The pimp had several girls and advertised them on Backpage. They met rich white guys at the [at a motel] in Brooklyn Center. The victim wanted to quit prostitution and the female pimp threatened to kill her.

It is likely that female-headed operations are a minority. First, in many Minneapolis Police Department cases, what appeared to be a female-headed operation was actual a woman working as a “bottom” for a male pimp. Like the examples provided above, most female pimps were formerly exploited girls and women who broke away from a male-headed operation.

Independents and “renegades”

In interviews and in MPD case records we learned that at least some girls are engaged in prostitution outside of structured sex trafficking operations, apparently not under the control a facilitator. The data presented here pertains only to minor victims of domestic sex trafficking according to Minnesota statute. We did not inquire about adult women in the sex trade or whether they worked alone or with facilitators.

Many interviewees referred to girls who seem to work outside the control of a facilitator as a “renegade.” However, according to our interviews, youth tend to view themselves as “on-their-own” or “independents.” Renegade girls may engage in survival sex by trading for a place to stay while also engaged in commercial sex for cash. Most seem to be involved in street prostitution and/or escort business models. Based on our interviews, we found that a typical renegade had prior exposure to prostitution in at least one of these ways:

- She had been engaged in survival sex but was advised by a friend that she could get money;
- She had been exploited previously by a pimp, a pimp network, or a corporate model operation and escaped;
- She grew up in a family already involved in prostitution and decided to strike out on her own; and/or
- She had friends or young relatives engaged in prostitution who encouraged her to join them.

Our sources described some girls who were independent as follows:

You get up in the morning, in your nice little home with your wife and two children. You make coffee, go to work and start working. I do the same, I wake up, I put an ad online and within 20 minutes – I go to work.

On the street, homeless girls hang out together and talk to each other. She hooked up with another girl who told her, “I know a way we can make money, let me show you.” And she introduced her to Backpage.

We did not specifically ask about trans-girls (GLBTQ), but several sources suggested that they typically do not have a facilitator. For example:

There are strong identity bonds between trans-girls doing street work in Downtown. There are definite “Black girls’ group,” “Latina girls’ group” and “the white girls.” There is a fierce sense of community, girls watch out for each other. These girls mostly do not have a pimp or matron [madam] watching out for them.

Another source described a group of girls who seemed to work together. The group leader’s role was a grey area, in which we were unable to determine whether she was a renegade working with other renegades, or a female pimp.

A group of girls live together in a house. They meet customers at a corner store at [location redacted, in North Minneapolis]. Then they take the customer to their home [nearby – location redacted]. The leader of the group is 25-26 years old. She sets up the dates using Backpage and word-of-mouth. She is prostituting, too. The other girls are 24 and 17 years old. The 24-year-old and the leader have children.

Our evidence suggest that it is a minority of minor girls who truly work solo, posting their own ads online, cultivating their own relationships with sex buyers, and transporting themselves to sex buyers' homes or a hotel. Renegades could possibly be viewed as the least complex operational arrangement, in which the victim and the sex buyer simply eliminate the middleman. However, renegade status does not appear to be a stable operation type. Rather, renegades are often escapees from other operations and they are frequently "recaptured." This also may be the starting point for some woman-headed operations, in which one girl steps forward as leader and others work with her as a collective.

Market "churn" and dynamism

While Figure 23 shows a static picture of the market, our research found that the market for sex with juveniles is, in fact, quite dynamic. We found two primary sources of dynamism in the market. First, victims cycle in and out of facilitators' control, while facilitators constantly seek out "new" and "fresh" girls to market, sell, and meet new types of demand by sex buyers.

We found considerable evidence that some girls escape the control of facilitators after several days, weeks or months. Other girls are sold or traded to other facilitators, thus creating a constant flow of girls into and out of a particular facilitator's control. We also learned that in their quest for a better situation, girls sometimes transition between different facilitators, bouts of homelessness, foster care, treatment facilities, their families of origin, friends' homes, and police custody. Yet, they still remain in the orb of facilitation because facilitators deliberately build a level of dependency that keeps girls coming back for love, basic needs, a place to stay, drugs, etc.

Second, operations evolve in their use of business models to expand or diversify their customer base, to develop and capitalize on new and more profitable market opportunities. Facilitators also seek out new sex buyers. They approach men at bars, talk to bachelor parties and affiliate with party bus companies and more.

Both forms of dynamic movement create what we call a market "churn." As facilitators and their operations seek to maximize profit, they broaden their efforts to recruit fresh "supply" to meet new demand or specific requests. Many sex buyers seek specific attributes of the girls and new and unique sexual experiences. Thus, operations seek to meet a greater diversity of demands, at the same time cultivating new demand to maximize profit.

Patterns in communities

Operation types by community

Across the full range of interviews, we noticed that some patterns and trends of operational "types" varied within certain communities. Figure 26 shows which operational "types" were mentioned in interviews in relation to different communities. Our interviews described some facilitators, their operational structures and activities as rooted within a specific community. The left side of the table

lists communities that our interviewees mentioned in relation to sex trafficking. We did not find enough information about the domestic minor sex trafficking in the Hmong community to include that community in this table. However, we describe what we did find in the text below. Across the top are listed the three primary operational types. If that operational type was mentioned in a particular community, we indicate that with a dot.

Figure 26: Operation types by community

	SINGLE PIMP	PIMP NETWORK	CORPORATE
African-American	●	●	●
American Indian	●	●	
White		●	●
Latina/o	●	●	
Somali	●	●	●
Liberian		●	
LGBTQ	●		

As the table above shows, we found that informal pimp networks operate in most communities, with the exception of Hmong and the LGBTQ communities. Our evidence indicates that single pimp operations exist in African-American, American Indian, Latino, Somali, and LGBTQ communities. Our interviewees discussed the corporate model in relation to only African-American, white and Somali communities.

In the case of African-American and Caucasian/White communities, both victims and sex buyers were described as coming from multiple communities. This pattern was also evident in law enforcement case files. Whereas, in the Somali community, all elements of the operation, including facilitators, victims, and sex buyers, are seen to come from primarily within the Somali community. However, some mentioned that there were wealthy white men at the top of the corporate hierarchy. We had no law enforcement case files on domestic minor sex trafficking within the Somali Community. Our media analysis showed a case from 2009 with numerous accused traffickers in the Somali community, which was charged and tried in Federal court, but we did not review these records. News media from the time suggested a fairly well organized corporate operation that transported Somali girls between several Midwestern cities.

Gang-related operations were described in most communities, with the exception of the Liberian community and the LGBTQ communities. These gang-related activities actually represented a continuum. Some operations are operated within a gang structure whereas others were headed by single pimps loosely affiliated with gangs.

In the Hmong community we heard only about gang-affiliated and highly organized sex trafficking operations. Some interviewees also talked about child brides, but though important, this type of sexual exploitation did not fit within the parameters of the project. Within the LGBTQ community we found much less evidence of highly organized operations. The most common operational structure was single-pimp. The most frequently mentioned mode of exchanging sex in the LGBTQ community was working as an independent, or renegade.

In general, the Liberian, Hmong and LGBTQ communities seem to experience less variety in operational structures for domestic minor sex trafficking. However, we were not able to reach saturation of interviews in these communities so cannot draw firm conclusions. Sex trafficking in the Liberian community seems to involve primarily informal pimp networks – we found no evidence of single pimp operations or the more highly organized corporate model.

We heard about renegades in five of the communities described in Figure 27. The frequency of mention in our interviews was highest in African-American and LGBTQ communities; in the latter, boys were described as renegades far more frequently than girls. Interviewees mentioned female-headed operations in African-American, American Indian, and White communities.

We are only able to describe these basic patterns, but as noted in our description of study limitations, our data were insufficient to uncover causal mechanisms or reasons for the differences. This could be an important line of inquiry for future studies.

Business models in communities

When we examine the business models described within specific communities, we see additional community-level patterns and trends. Some communities tend to have business models that draw sex buyers from the same community as the victims, whereas others engage sex buyers from any and all communities. Our interviewees indicated that sex trafficking in immigrant/refugee communities, including the Latina/o, Somali, Liberian, and Hmong communities, tend to be “within community.” The facilitators, victims, and sex buyers are all members of the same community.

We also found a reliance on closed buyers’ network and brothel-like business models in all four immigrant/refugee communities, with much less escort activity, especially online escort businesses. We did learn about some street-based activity in the Somali and Latina/o communities, but not in the Hmong and Liberian communities. In general these were the communities we knew least about, so it is possible that there is activity we are missing. However, these were strong patterns in our interviews with advocates and front-line workers in all the communities and they were confirmed by law enforcement case materials and interview sources as well.

SHIFTS IN MEDIA COVERAGE

Through our LexusNexus search of newspaper articles from 2007-2013, we identified 109 articles: 69 articles focused on 29 specific cases in which minors were trafficked for prostitution, and 40 articles and thought pieces describing anti-trafficking activities. The latter group included coverage addressing advocacy efforts, legislative efforts, and/or law enforcement efforts to address the sex trafficking of minors.

Figure 27: Media coverage of domestic minor sex trafficking, Twin Cities 2007-2013



As Figure 27 illustrates, there was an overall surge in media coverage of the issue after 2011, when the Minnesota Legislature passed the state’s Safe Harbor legislation re-classifying juveniles in prostitution as crime victims in need of protection. Media attention grew steadily in 2012 and 2013.

Prior to 2011, each case-specific article usually described a single incident, meaning that there was no repeat coverage for a single case. Only one in eight specific domestic minor sex trafficking cases was covered by more than one news article up until 2011, when several articles covered the ‘Minnesota Nice Guys’ prostitution ring. This case was described in articles as a shock to the public because the trafficker was a former Assistant District Attorney, had a disability that required the use of a wheelchair, and had a clientele consisting of educated, affluent, middle-aged, male professionals. After 2011, there was a growing trend in which multiple articles covered a specific case, including reporting on the incident, investigations into the case, and the trial. For some, multiple news articles covered every stage of the case, including the trial, arguments made in court, and sentencing.

Changing public attitudes

We saw a clear shift in language and perspective. Media coverage of sex trafficking in 2012 and 2013 reflected a change in terminology from “child prostitute” or “juvenile prostitute” to terms framing juveniles involved in commercial sex as victims. We also identified a clear pattern of change from 2007 to 2013 in how victims were described and how blame was attributed.

Overall, five specific cases received the greatest media attention, all of them reported after 2011. The Washington family trafficking ring was first mentioned in May 2010 and 15 more articles were published from December 12 forward as the various family members went on trial (see Figure 28).

Figure 28: Five most covered cases, Twin Cities' media 2007-2013

Case	# of articles
Washington family ring	16
Mickey Cupkie	6
Tyree Jones and Bionca Mixon	4
Nice Guys ring (John Paul St. Marie)	4
Fonti McArthur Diggs and Timothy Denzel Cross	4

The case receiving the second-greatest media coverage was that of Mickey Cupkie, a sex buyer employed by the Army Corps of Engineers who solicited and had sex with two underage girls through a backpage ad their pimp had posted. Cupkie was the first sex buyer prosecuted under Minnesota's sex trafficking and Safe Harbor legislation.

Ten of the 29 cases covered by the media, and nine articles about anti-trafficking activities, explicitly mentioned pre-existing vulnerabilities in victims. These included being homeless or a runaway, and/or having mild to severe developmental disabilities. However, we found no discussion of the influences of race or poverty on vulnerability in the reporting.

We did find a significant change in how reporters described the victims, which we believe is a reflection of the evolution of public opinion. In 2008 and 2009, the word "prostitute" was frequently used to describe juvenile victims. One article said "*Some* women may be victims" [emphasis ours]. We also found a shift away from "what is wrong" media accounts toward a "how do we change it" focus since the passing of Safe Harbor Law in April 2011. For example, non-case media articles in 2008 had headlines such as "Sex Trafficking victims prosecuted as criminals" or "Report finds gaps in sex trafficking enforcement." After passage of the Safe Harbor legislation, headlines included "Hotel employees get training in spotting sex trafficking" and "Sex trade demands public intervention" (which highlighted the need for shelter services).

Along with the movement toward sympathetic views of victims, there was also an increase in reporting less focused on the details of the crime than on emotional appeal for supporting victims. An example headline was "She was just a girl—and just what St. Paul pimps looked for." The increase in compassionate reporting for girls involved in sex trafficking cases also extended to some women identified as pimps' co-facilitators, or bottoms. A July 2013 Star Tribune article by Gail Rosenblum was titled, "Reasons for female sex traffickers are complex."²⁹ The article highlighted

the role of prior victimization in a 20-year-old woman's role as an involuntary co-facilitator in the Washington family sex trafficking ring, and commented on the very different role played by Bionca Mixon, who played a key role in kidnapping a 17-year-old Iowa girl and coercing her to prostitute. The columnist called on the public to recognize the very limited choices available to women under a pimp's control. A later story reported that sex trafficking charges against the female co-facilitator in the Washington case had been dropped, in which the County Attorney's Office spokesman is quoted as saying, "The scale tipped much more in favor of her being a victim."³⁰

Other stories focused on two specific women who both were involved in promotion of prostitution, but were depicted as acting in support of the victims to some degree. One described Meranda Warborg, age 30, who was sentenced to a year in jail for sharing profits of prostitution with two teen girls after a sex buyer dropped them off at Warborg's house.³¹ A second described Shanese Garner, who posted a Backpage ad for a girl so she could buy a bus ticket home to escape a violent pimp.³²

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

As described in our introduction, we began this project with the understanding that domestic minor sex trafficking is, first and foremost, a money-making business enterprise, albeit one built on exploitation, violence, and brutality against young people. We began our study with two primary assumptions.

- The market for commercial sex with juveniles relies on market forces to generate profit, and like all markets it responds to the purchasing power of “customers” (i.e. sex buyers).
- Like all markets, the market for commercial sex with juveniles has segments that respond to sex buyer preferences, ability/willingness pay a certain price, convenience, and acceptable level of risk.

Given these two premises, we sought to understand the market from a birds-eye view, what we referred to as the “who, where and how.” Through triangulation of all our data sources, we have identified a deeper structure underlying the market conditions of domestic minor sex trafficking.

First, the market is structured by operations. These operations can be seen as falling within a continuum of complexity. We found clear evidence that there is a market for sex with juvenile victims (i.e. a demand and supply) and the girls (treated as “products”) are brought to the market through specific business models selected to maximize traffickers’ profits. It is clear that demand for sex, and the profits that can be realized by meeting that demand, are at the root of all operational types. Without demand for sex with juveniles, there would be no sex trafficking of minor girls.

We found that traffickers act as entrepreneurs, and as such they seek to innovate and create additional and/or stronger demand. Demand is generated by two interacting processes. The first is the evolution of sex buyers’ interest in sex with juveniles. The second is facilitators’ efforts to not only respond to buyers’ interests, but also to generate new interest through innovative new “products,” consisting of specific types of girls providing specific types of sexual services. Thus, if left unchecked, market expansion is inevitable. The online market place and other more hidden electronic media have made it easier to facilitate and expand the market for sex with lessened risk for facilitators and for sex buyers.

We also identified what we call a market “churn.” That is, bringing in fresh girls to replace those who exit the market by escaping from facilitators and operations, being picked up by police, receiving housing and other support from service providers, trying to go home, or trying to work independent of an operation (“renegade”). Facilitators find youth in places where they are already congregated such as schools, parks, libraries, malls, bus stops, friends’ houses, parties, etc. This includes places where the youth are supposed to be “safe,” such as social services, housing programs, treatment facilities and juvenile detention centers. Peer recruiting is a critical tactic for facilitators to access girls in these locations.

We found that the organized structure of formal operations pulls from an informal market comprised of runaway and homeless youth engaged in survival behaviors such as survival sex, couch-hopping, boosting (theft for later sale), drug distribution and more. Within the informal economy, specific vulnerabilities are targeted (substance use, cognitive impairment, prior abuse, etc.). The informal

market puts children in contact with the formal structures and in some ways works to eliminate resistance through seduction, deception, coercion and brutality. Once pulled into the formal marketplace for sex, operations take the youth, categorize them and feed them into different market segments – that is business models – to satisfy particular sex buyers’ preferences and willingness to pay.

We found a tremendous amount of evidence that operations employ systematic psychological, physical, and sexual brutality to develop a “product,” which is girls to sell. We found that securing a supply of girls through cultivating romantic interest, followed by the use of sexual, physical, psychological, and verbal violence, is neither random nor anomalous on the part of facilitators. Rather, this is a standardized conditioning process designed to first entrap girls and then break them down so they will not resist. It includes a highly strategic use of rape and gang rape as a conditioning and sorting-out process. These operational processes and the information we gathered about “THOT” and “train” parties indicate that sexual violence and sexual exploitation of vulnerable girls are not a by-product of the sex trade committed by a few people at the margins. We conclude that systematic brutality is a core function of the marketplace that warrants serious investigation and intervention.

In our analysis of MPD sex trafficking case files and interviews, it was immediately apparent that environmental factors are major contributors to the sex trafficking of minor girls. The market is rooted in an environmental context of poverty and inequality. The girls we heard about were typically vulnerable socioeconomically and psychologically, either recruited by or through neighborhood and school peers, or by sex buyers and pimps that came to parties and public spaces in their neighborhoods for the sole purpose of exploiting them. Further, recruitment by family members already in the sex trade adds a generational component on top of concentrated and generational poverty.

Additionally, we found that sex trafficking operations within or affecting specific racial/ethnic communities exploit the specific historical, social, economic, and political vulnerabilities affecting those communities. For example, American Indian and African-American girls and their communities are especially vulnerable to facilitators due to centuries of historical, social, political, and economic oppression, and sex trafficking operations are often highly visible. In the Somali, Liberian and Hmong communities, operations are more invisible to outsiders and girls are marketed through closed networks within a close-knit community. Latino operations are underground because of the stigma as well as the overhanging fear of the legal system. Within immigrant communities victims seem more reticent to report exploitation or access support services.

There is no question that we should work to prevent youth involvement in commercial sex. Most anti-trafficking efforts, thus far, have been focused on supporting law enforcement intervention to rescue sex trafficked youth. In Minnesota we have recently taken serious steps toward providing emergency shelter and services to trafficked youth, but more needs to be done to remediate the impact of generational poverty and social oppression. The adolescent social safety net, which once included free access to recreational centers and athletic programs, library programs, and teen centers after school and into evenings, has dwindled significantly over the past 20 years. Youth whose

families are affected by poverty and its attendant ills have very few outside supports, and those that exist are seriously over-subscribed and under-funded.

Recruitment and capture into the sex trade seems to result when vulnerable teens have very few options for meeting basic needs other than the informal economy of survival sex; thus putting them at greater risk for capture into the formal market structure and specific operational types. There is a serious unmet need for at-risk adolescents and children needing safe space and positive environments after school and during the evening hours.

After conducting this project, we believe that a much greater prevention impact would result if we also focus on interrupting the market forces of domestic minor sex trafficking in two ways: 1) prevent sex buyer demand for “product” (sex with minor girls); and 2) subvert sex trafficking operations’ ability to recruit and capture victims. Based on our findings we suggest the following recommendations to make headway on these two goals.

Our recommendations are intended to build on what is already being implemented through the *No Wrong Door* model and other programs that already work with youth, so we only highlight certain aspects of shelter and services that we feel are in need of the most attention. Otherwise, our recommendations represent three main categories: youth services, systems coordination, and prevention.

YOUTH SERVICES

Ensure that all *No Wrong Door* housing and services programming is culturally-responsive and that staff has considerable experience in victim-centered, trauma-informed services to prostituted youth.

Ensure an adequate and full range of safe housing options for homeless, chronic runaway, couch-hopping, and pregnant/parenting youth (short-term shelter, long-term shelter with support services, transitional housing, and permanent subsidized housing).

Expand the state’s options for residential adolescent chemical dependency treatment, ensuring that they are safe, appropriate for sex trafficked youth, and have the capacity for immediate placement.

Create and/or strengthen programs, organizations, and systems working with adolescent and teen sexual assault victims, to ensure early identification, support, and intervention if they are being targeted for sex trafficking.

Identify, train and support youth services that serve as a first-point-of-contact for homeless and runaway youth. Stabilize funding sources for these agencies, programs and staff who interact directly with the most at-risk youth who can act as an early identification and referral network into supportive services.

Train everyone working with youth in any capacity to recognize and intervene in peer recruiting, and to respond positively to trauma responses often seen in sexually exploited youth (i.e. anger/hostility, rebellion, dissociation, etc.)

SYSTEMS COORDINATION

Police departments should continue investigation of facilitators and sex buyers, with a more deliberate focus on infiltrating closed sex buyers' networks and gang-related operations.

Strengthen relationships between police officers, schools, and community-based youth services programs and youth-serving social service organizations to ensure long-term, trauma-centered, and victim-centered support for at-risk and sex trafficked youth.

In each junior high and high school, assign at least one fully qualified counselor to work with sexually exploited and traumatized youth, and to work with police/School Resource Officers and community-based organization to develop partnerships, protocols, and referral systems for youth safety and support.

Build competency in sex trafficking into existing programs in schools that focus on sexual health and healthy relationships, as well as anti-bullying efforts.

PREVENTION

Create social change by challenging the idea that commercial sex with young girls is an adventure, a male bonding activity, and/or a male entitlement (i.e. engaging professional male athletes, actors, other popular-culture male role models in a marketing initiative).

Raise public awareness of sex traffickers' use of peer recruiting, and the strategies they use to engage and convince young girls to recruit their peers for prostitution

To increase the likelihood that girls will seek help, embed sexual assault and sex trafficking prevention activities within agencies that already have relationships with girls through their programming, particularly organizations working with specific racial/ethnic populations.

Create and implement sexual exploitation/peer recruitment prevention programs for youth 6th grade and older or embed this content into already existing curricula and programs in schools.

Focus particular training and prevention efforts on training teachers, school aides, school social workers, special educators, school psychologists, and nurses in alternative schools and schools for youth with emotional and behavioral disabilities.

Strengthen organizations offering youth ages 12-17 opportunities for personal and professional development (i.e. skilled-trade apprenticeships, long-term paid internships that involve hands-on training)

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW MATRIX GRID

Topic	Overview Qs	Areas to probe
Actors involved in trafficking Who is involved?	Who are victims?	Gender, race, age, sexual orientation
		Homelessness/couch-hopping, other housing status
		Other vulnerability factors
		What kinds of sexual activity/services are they involved in?
	Who are the market facilitators (pimps, traffickers)?	Gender, race, age
		Relationship to the minor (if any)
Who are purchasers?	Gender, race, age	
Modalities of trafficking and purchase How these transactions take place?	How do traffickers access the minors?	Family
		Friendship networks
		Online social networks
		Runaways, couch hoppers doing “survival sex”
	How do the facilitators control the minors?	Force, fraud, coercion
		Pretending love, etc.
		Advertising (explore who does what)
		Other connections
Involvement of any other market forces? (tourism/travel, drugs, illegal weapons) How?		
How do you think the online network has impacted the market? (e.g. has the demographic of purchasers or traffickers changed because of it?)		
Communities Where do these transactions happen?	Are there certain localities/ neighborhoods are more vulnerable?	“Source” areas that many prostituted youth come from
		“Receiving” areas where pimps keep youth under their control
		“Trade” areas where deals, advertising and bargains are made
		“Purchasing” areas where sex buyers live
		“Transaction” areas where sexual transactions often take place
	Community-based characteristics increase vulnerability to traffickers	Average household income
		Average educational attainment
		Opportunities for legal employment
Education	What is the relationship between educational attainment and	Sex trading
		Sex trafficking
		Sex purchasing
	Are truant youth more likely to be trafficked into prostitution? What is the relationship?	
	Once youth are trafficked into prostitution, what are their odds of finishing school?	
Wrap-up	Is there anything we should have asked you or something you think we should ask others?	

APPENDIX 2: NVIVO NODE LIST & DEFINITIONS

Name	Sources	References	Node Descriptions
Market Facilitators	39	458	
F Age	23	37	Facilitator's age
F Characteristics of Susceptibility to the trade	13	15	Facilitator's susceptibilities that may drive them into the business (e.g. abuse, incarceration, poverty)
F Characteristics for success	19	27	Facilitator's characteristics for success in business (e.g. ability to be invisible, ability to gauge purchaser preference, opportunity)
F Opportunity	7	8	Business characteristic of taking advantage of a recruitment opportunity
F Demographics	24	51	Facilitator demographics (e.g. race, gender)
F General	9	14	General information about facilitators (e.g. facilitators are predators that take advantage of our kids)
F In return of	5	5	What facilitators offer in bargain for sex trade (e.g. food, shelter)
F Other businesses	16	21	Other business facilitators are engaged in (e.g. drugs, gangs)
F gang affiliation	14	17	Facilitators gang involvement
F Power	6	6	Facilitator's power over the girls
F Relationship with the victims	12	17	Facilitator's relationship with victims (e.g. boyfriend, sibling, friend, home owner)
F Roles	23	108	Specific role in the business (e.g. pimp, boosters, bouncers, level of girls in the operation structure, madam, middle man, girlfriend, enforcer)
Name	Sources	References	Node Descriptions
Market Facilitators (continued)	39	458	
Pimp	13	35	Role - Pimp (e.g. types of pimps and type of operational structures)
Recruiters	11	18	Role - Recruiters (e.g. friends, boyfriends, family members)
Transportation Support	7	11	Role - Transportation support (e.g. cab drivers, runners)
F Cab drivers	2	4	Transportation Role - Cab drivers
Runners	3	4	Transportation Role - Runners
F Sex Offenders	2	2	Registered Sex Offender pimps
F Socioeconomic Backgrounds	9	11	Facilitators economic background
F Where	17	28	Where are Facilitators from
Purchasers	31	288	

P Age	11	14	Purchaser Age
P Demographics	21	41	Purchaser Demographics (e.g. race, gender)
P General	10	13	General characteristics of purchasers (e.g. men are from all over Minneapolis)
P Hobbyists	1	2	Hobbyists
P Interviewee judgment	6	8	Interviewee judgment about purchasers (when we thought that interviewees were using their own judgment to describe purchasers)
P Power	11	16	Purchaser exercising power (e.g. gender discrimination)
P Preferences	17	29	Purchaser preferences - what type of girls they want/like/prefer
P Schedule	10	19	Availability of supply based on purchasers' schedule (e.g. 6am when they are driving to work or afternoon when they are getting their lunch)
P Socioeconomic Background	25	45	Purchaser Socioeconomic Background
Employment	12	16	If the purchaser is employment and where are they employed
Outside City	6	7	Purchasers described as living outside the city
P Where	9	10	Where are the purchasers from

Name	Sources	References	Node Descriptions
Victims	44	1113	
V Age	39	87	Victims age
Youth	6	6	When the victims age was described as youth
V Business characteristics	14	39	Business characteristics that help victims be successful in the business (e.g. certain personality traits, physical appearance, skills)
Personality traits	8	15	Certain personality traits that help victims be successful in the business (e.g. savvy, persuasive)
Physical Appearance	8	12	Physical appearance, driven by demand, that helps girls be successful in the business (e.g. light skin, nice body)
Skills	3	6	Skills that help girls be successful in the business (e.g. dancing)
V Community response	12	18	Community response towards the victim because of her involvement in sex trafficking (positive or negative, e.g. stigma)
V Demographics	28	84	Victim Demographics (e.g. race)
Boys	6	8	Boys Victims
Girls	26	61	Girls Victims
V LGBTQ	7	14	LGBTQ Victims
V General	9	11	General information about victims (e.g. anybody can be a victim, it can happen to all)
V Inaccessibility of services	12	23	Victim is not able to access services (e.g. lack of trust in institutions, refugee-immigration status)
Lack of trust-comfort with organizations	9	9	Victim's lack of trust/comfort towards organizations (e.g. girls don't speak up because they don't trust the service provider)
Refugee-immigrant status	9	10	Refugee-immigration status that prevents victims from accessing/receiving resources
V Perceptions of their situation	26	69	Victims perceptions of their situation in the business
strength and resilience	5	5	Victims Strength and Resilience
Victims agency	9	16	Victims Agency (e.g. girls take charge of their situations)
V Pull factors	16	27	Pull factors that attract victims into sex trafficking
V Barriers to escape	10	17	Pull factor - Victims barriers to escape
V Socio-economic backgrounds	15	24	Victims Socioeconomic Background
V Survival Sex	18	21	Victims involved in survival sex

Name	Sources	References	Node Descriptions
Victims	44	1113	
V Vulnerabilities	42	421	Victim's vulnerabilities (e.g. addiction, generational trauma, poverty, homelessness)
Absence of relationships-affiliations	23	41	Vulnerability - Absence of relationships-affiliations (e.g. lack of real and supportive relationships, no parents, yearning for belonging)
Addiction	18	19	Vulnerability - Addiction (e.g. drugs, alcohol)
Proximity to crime	4	6	Vulnerability - Proximity to crime (e.g. criminal records, gang affiliations)
Generational	16	29	Vulnerability - Generational abuse, trauma, trafficking
Exposure through family	15	28	Vulnerability - Exposure through family (e.g. mom prostitutes, cousin is a pimp)
Glamour & success aspirations	9	12	Vulnerability - Wants to be a model, a porn star, a dancer
Gullible youth	7	10	Vulnerability - Girls who are coerced/tricked into a trafficking situation
Identity crisis	8	12	Vulnerability - Identity crisis (e.g. mixed race, adopted children, refugee children who don't find their place in society)
Fit in the culture	4	6	Vulnerability - Children who want to fit-in and do whatever it takes to belong
Mental & Physical Health	31	77	Vulnerability - Mental and Physical health issues (e.g. child abuse, low self-esteem, medical mental issues, sexual abuse or rape)
Child abuse	14	22	Vulnerability - Child abuse (e.g. violence, neglect)
Low self esteem	11	12	Vulnerability - Low self-esteem
Sexual abuse or rape	13	22	Vulnerability - Sexual Abuse or rape
Poverty	18	33	Vulnerability - Poverty
Hungry	6	6	Vulnerability - Hungry (e.g. children who are hungry at school, have no money to buy lunch, trade sex for food)
Precarious housing	28	80	Vulnerability - Precarious housing (e.g. homelessness, runaway)
Homelessness	21	44	Vulnerability - Homelessness
Runaway	19	31	Vulnerability - Runaway
Pregnant-Parent	16	35	Vulnerability - Girls who are pregnant or have young children
Unsupportive homes and relationships	34	65	Vulnerability - Victims who live in houses where their parents/guardians are unsupportive, absent or dependent on them
V Where	16	33	Where are the Victims from

Name	Sources	References	Node Descriptions
Racial/ethnic community context	44	446	
African-American Community	22	68	All the information pertaining/mentioning of the African American community in the market
African American Operation	7	15	African-American Operation (e.g. when African-American pimps are exploiting girls, African-American girls are being exploited, African-American men as purchasers)
Community Context	4	6	Context of African-American Community in the US and/or around the issue of sex trafficking
Ethnic Community General	6	8	General information about ethnic communities (e.g. all communities of color experience discrimination)
Hmong Community	8	14	All the information pertaining/mentioning of the Hmong community in the market
International Community	2	2	References to International Trafficking
Latino Community	28	72	All the information pertaining/mentioning of the Latino community in the market
Community context	1	1	Context of Latino Community in the US and/or around the issue of sex trafficking
Latino Operations	8	18	How the sex trafficking business may operate within the Latino community (e.g. Latino pimps are exploiting girls, Latino children are being exploited, Latinos as purchasers)
LGBTQ	6	10	All the information pertaining/mentioning of the LGBTQ community in the market
Liberian Community	5	5	All the information pertaining/mentioning of the Liberian community in the market
Native Community	25	85	All the information pertaining/mentioning of the Native American community in the market
Community Context	1	3	Context of Native Community in the US and/or around the issue of sex trafficking
Native Operation	8	42	How the sex trafficking business may operate within the Native community (e.g. Native pimps exploiting victims, Native children are being exploited, Native men as purchasers)
Somali Community	12	52	All the information pertaining/mentioning of the Somali community in the market
S community context	3	5	Context of Somali Community in the US and/or around the issue of sex trafficking
Somali Operations	11	41	How the sex trafficking business may operate within the Somali community (e.g. Somali pimps are exploiting victims, Somali children are being exploited, Somali men as purchasers)
White Community	28	66	All the information pertaining/mentioning of the White/Caucasian community in the market
White operations	1	2	White Operation (e.g. when White pimps or purchasers are exploiting girls, how white girls are exploited)

Name	Sources	References	Node Descriptions
General	31	60	General information about the trade that didn't fit under any other bucket (e.g. Sex trafficking happens to all)
Illegal Activities	25	81	Illegal activities related/interlinked with sex trafficking
Boosters	5	9	References to Boosters
Drugs dealing	12	16	References to Drug dealing
Organized crime	2	2	Other illegal activities (e.g. identity theft and organized crime)
Operation Components	37	291	Components/facilitation of the market
Business innovations	21	37	Business innovations (e.g. pimps scouting for purchasers, bars/clubs being more skilled at covering sex trafficking, portable office in a car)
Control	25	75	Control used in the business (e.g. manipulation, violence, drugs)
Drug dependence	17	26	Drug dependence (i.e. introduction and consequence of the business)
Informal advertising	9	10	Informal advertising (e.g. group messaging, word of mouth, networking)
Pricing	15	22	Amounts and ways sex work is paid for
Recruited by	26	75	Recruited by (e.g. boyfriend, facilitator proposition, familial recruitment, P2P recruitment)
Facilitator Proposition	4	5	Victims are recruited by facilitators propositioning on the street, at bus stops, in their neighborhood
Familial Recruitment	9	13	Victims are recruited by their family members
P2P Recruitment	22	41	Victims are recruited by other peers such as friends, classmates, other girls/boys their age
Recruitment Premise	21	37	The premise used to recruit the victim (e.g. it's just a party, you only need to dance, you don't need to have sex with them, look at the new shoes I have - you can have them too)
Drugs as recruitment premise	3	3	Using drugs to recruit girls for a party (e.g. there will be free drugs)
Transportation Support	7	9	Transportation used to facilitate the trade (e.g. cab drivers, public transportation, paying people they don't know to take them to a transaction location)
Cab drivers	2	3	Cab drivers who facilitate the trade
Runners	2	3	Runners who transport the victims to transaction locations. Runners is the role they play in the operation

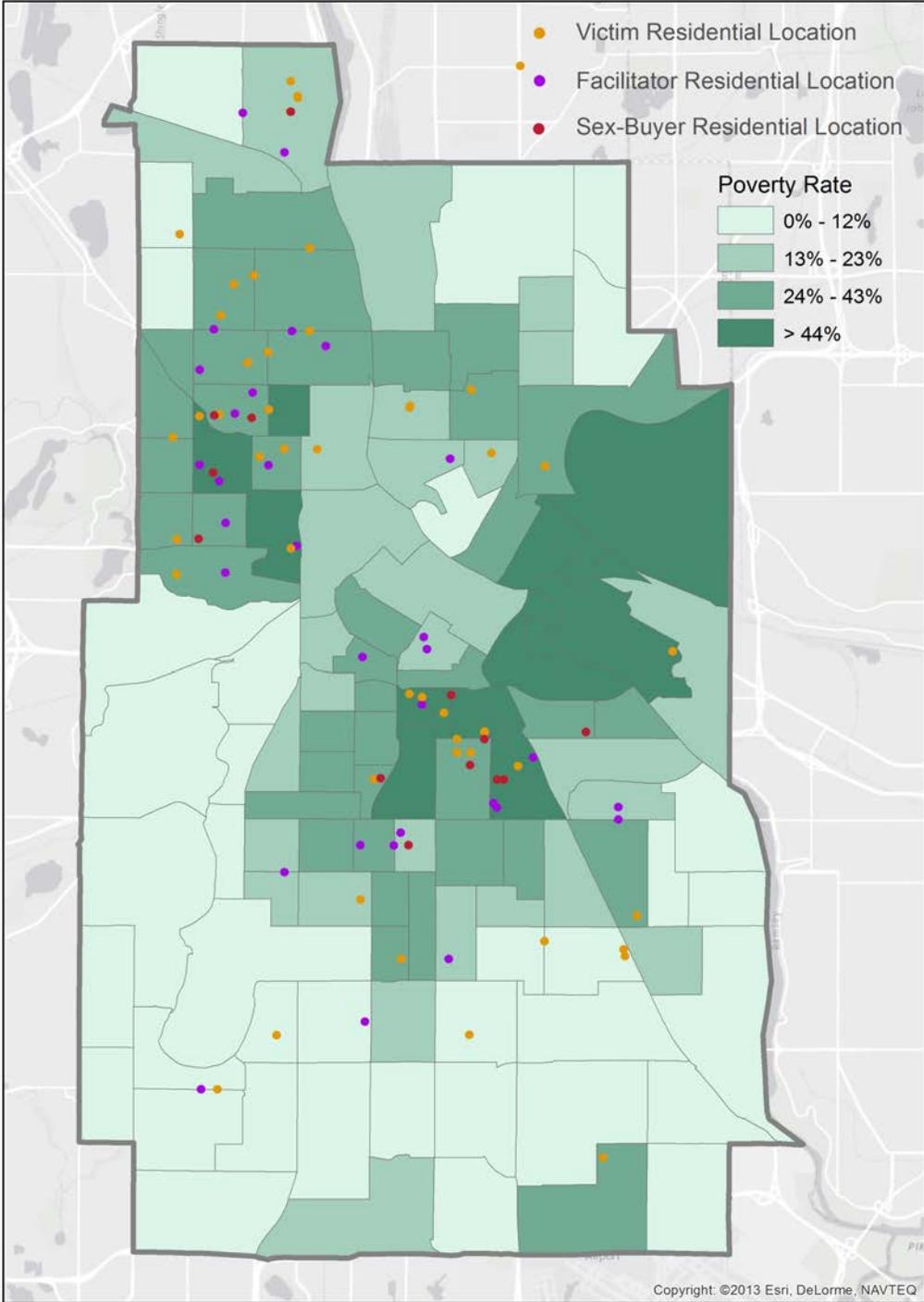
Name	Sources	References	Node Descriptions
Operation types	40	264	Types of operations
Corporate model	3	6	Hierarchical business operation - is involved in other illegal business activities
Familial Operation	10	14	Families who run an operation as a family (e.g. dad is a pimp, mother is prostituting and recruiting other family members, and/or father and mother pimping their children)
Fraud-abductions	4	5	Fraud-abduction operations (e.g. gullible girls coerced into sex trafficking, abduction for trafficking)
Use of drugs for abduction	5	7	Drugged the victim to abduct and transport to transaction location
Gang	26	51	Gang involvement in sex trafficking (e.g. indirect/direct involvement, gang affiliation)
Pimp Networks	16	48	Formal and informal collaborations between pimps and pimps or pimps and other facilitators to execute the business
Other organized operations	6	11	Cover operations (e.g. cab company, restaurants, buy a bride, strip clubs)
Private Parties	1	15	Organized private parties for sex consumption
Gazelle Parties	1	2	Live-porn private parties - two parties going on at the same time (one is a "normal" party with drinks and drugs, and the other is where live-porn takes place)
Sex clubs for men	1	7	Organized membership clubs for men to have sex with girls. The girlfriend experience
Purchaser Agency	12	23	Purchaser exercising power and personally scouting girls for sex
Purchaser led exploitation	11	18	Purchaser propositioning to girls on the street or online
Purchasing Online	2	3	How purchasers purchase online - described by law enforcement interviewees
Renegades	18	37	Victims working independently or in non-hierarchical groups
Single pimp operation	26	48	Descriptions of single pimps with one or two girls. Lover-boy/daddy is the most common strategy used by single pimps
Lover Boy and/orDaddy	21	28	Pimp pretends to be/is in a relationship with the victim. The pimp takes care of the girls needs and pretends to be the only person who understands the victim
Women Operations	9	17	Operations led by women pimps
Brothels	5	6	Residential operations led by women pimps
P2P Operation	4	6	When peer to peer recruitment turns into an operation of renegades - who don't have a pimp, there's a main leader but she/he is also prostituting

Name	Sources	References	Node Descriptions
Where	38	177	In the sex trafficking business - where does the scouting, recruiting, dealing and transaction happen
Minneapolis	35	193	Locations and/or venues around Minneapolis (Cedar-Riverside, Downtown, Uptown, North and South Mpls) where there is business activity
Cedar-Riverside	3	5	Locations and/or venues in Cedar-Riverside neighborhood where there is business activity
Downtown	15	39	Locations and/or venues in Downtown where there's business activity
North Minneapolis	17	37	Locations and/or venues in North Mpls where there's business activity
South Minneapolis	25	64	Locations and/or venues in South Mpls where there's business activity
Uptown-Midtown	3	3	Locations and/or venues in Uptown/Midtown where there's business activity
Minnesota NOT Mpls	32	78	Locations and/or venues in Minnesota but NOT Minneapolis where there's business activity (St. Louis Park, Duluth, Plymouth, Bloomington, Brooklyn Center and Brooklyn Park)
Out of state	17	35	Cities and/or states where Minneapolis operations take their business activity or where purchasers coming to Minneapolis for business come from
Venues	43	457	Venues used for scouting, recruiting, dealing, advertising and transaction
Cars	6	10	References to cars used as portable offices, cars used as transaction places or people in cars propositioning girls on the street
Portable office	1	1	Pimps using their cars as portable office. They manage their operation from the car
Escort	6	10	References to escort operations in relation to sex trafficking
Hotels & Motels	22	36	Hotels and Motels used for transaction, holding and locations for parties
Houses & Apartments	19	35	Houses and apartment used for parties, holding, dealing and transaction places
Massage Parlors	5	6	Massage parlors used as transaction and deal locations
Modeling Agencies	4	4	Modeling agencies used for recruitment of youth
Neighborhood stores	2	2	Owners of neighborhood stores involved in illegal activities and in recruiting/propositioning girls
Online	29	64	Advertising (backpages.com, dating cites), scouting (FB), controlling victims (know their whereabouts)
Parks	3	4	Parks used as recruitment locations
Parties	16	30	Parties used for recruitment, advertisement, deal and transaction. Parties take place in houses, apartments, hotels
Phone-Text	15	17	Phone and text are used for deal and advertising

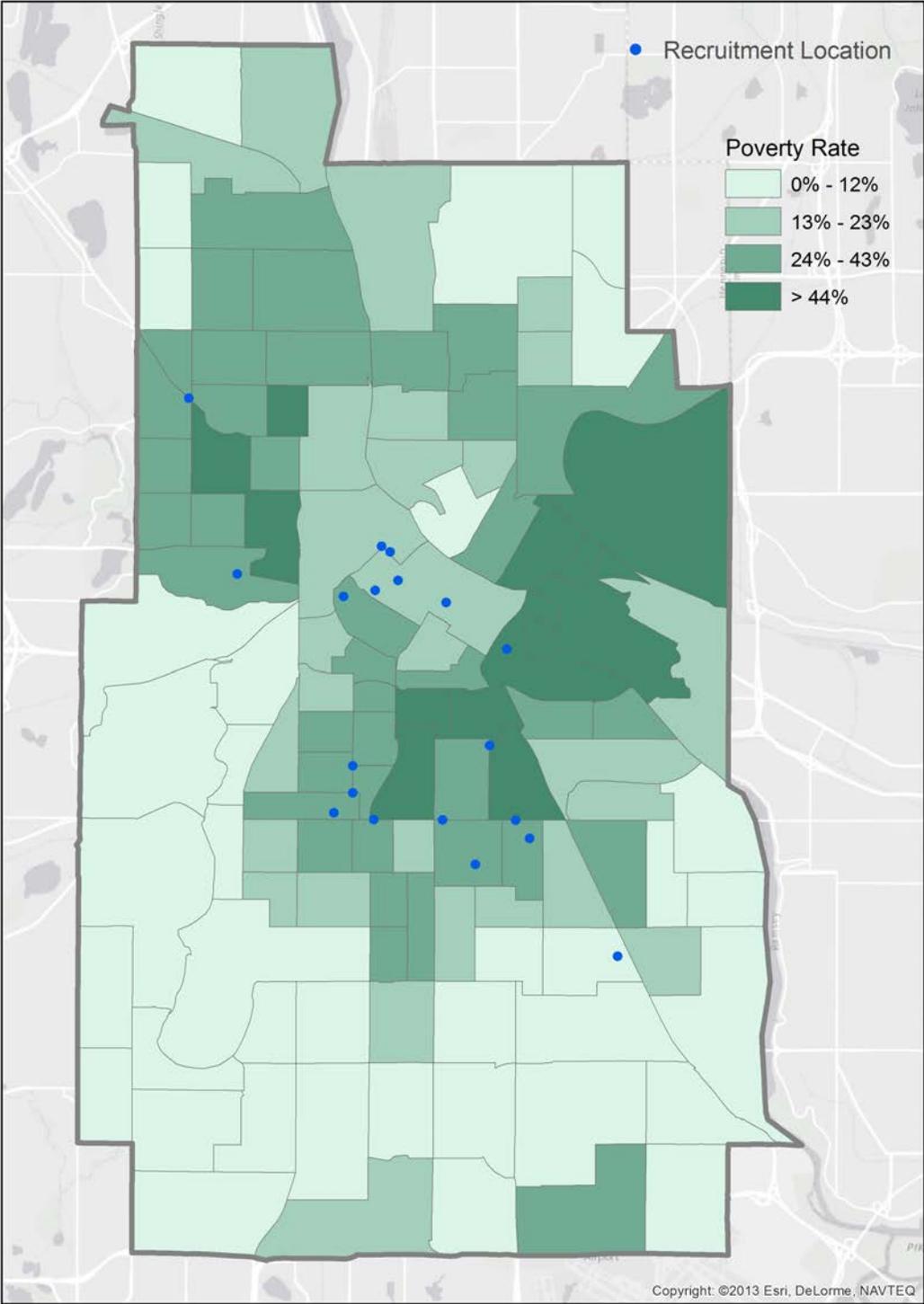
Name	Sources	References	Node Descriptions
Where	38	177	In the sex trafficking business - where does the scouting, recruiting, dealing and transaction happen
Places of recreation	20	44	Includes different places of recreation such as bars, hookah places, restaurants, public library, malls, used for advertising, recruitment, deal, transaction
Night Clubs	2	2	Night clubs used for recruitment, deal and transaction
Public Library	2	2	Public Library used for advertising, deal and recruitment
Safety-Social Services	22	55	Safety-Social Services used as safe havens for youth and in turn they are used as recruitment places
Foster Care	11	15	Victims who are part of the foster care system and are involved in or recruited for sex trafficking
Residential treatment facilities	3	4	Victims who are participate in residential treatment facilities and are involved in or recruited for sex trafficking
Shelters	14	24	Homeless or runaway victims who use shelters and are recruited or recruit other victims for sex trafficking
Schools	20	29	Victims are recruited inside, outside or on their way to school
Bus stops-stations	9	14	Victims are recruited and propositioned at bus-stops-stations and/or renegates advertise at bus-stops-stations
Single men gatherings	5	5	Venues for purchase and transaction for single men (e.g. hunting season, oil fields, conferences)
Street	21	49	Recruitment, deal, transaction and advertising happens on the street
Strip clubs	11	17	Recruitment, deal, advertising and transaction in strip clubs
Trap Houses	11	18	Houses and apartments used as holding, recruitment, advertising and transaction locations. Many of the victims are held here against their will or have no where else to go
Truck stops	5	8	Truck stops used for soliciting and transaction

APPENDIX 3: MAPS

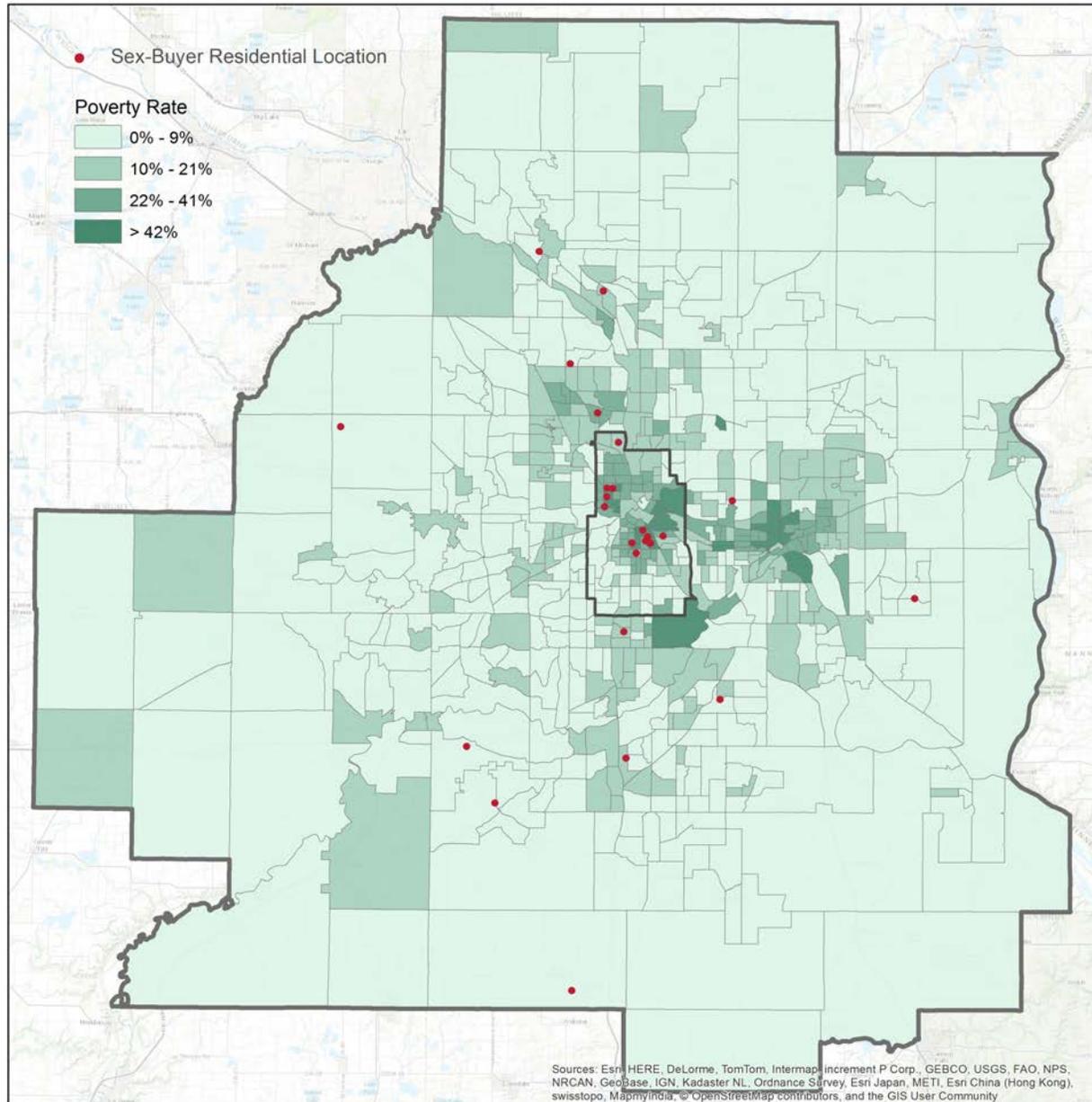
All People Poverty - Minneapolis



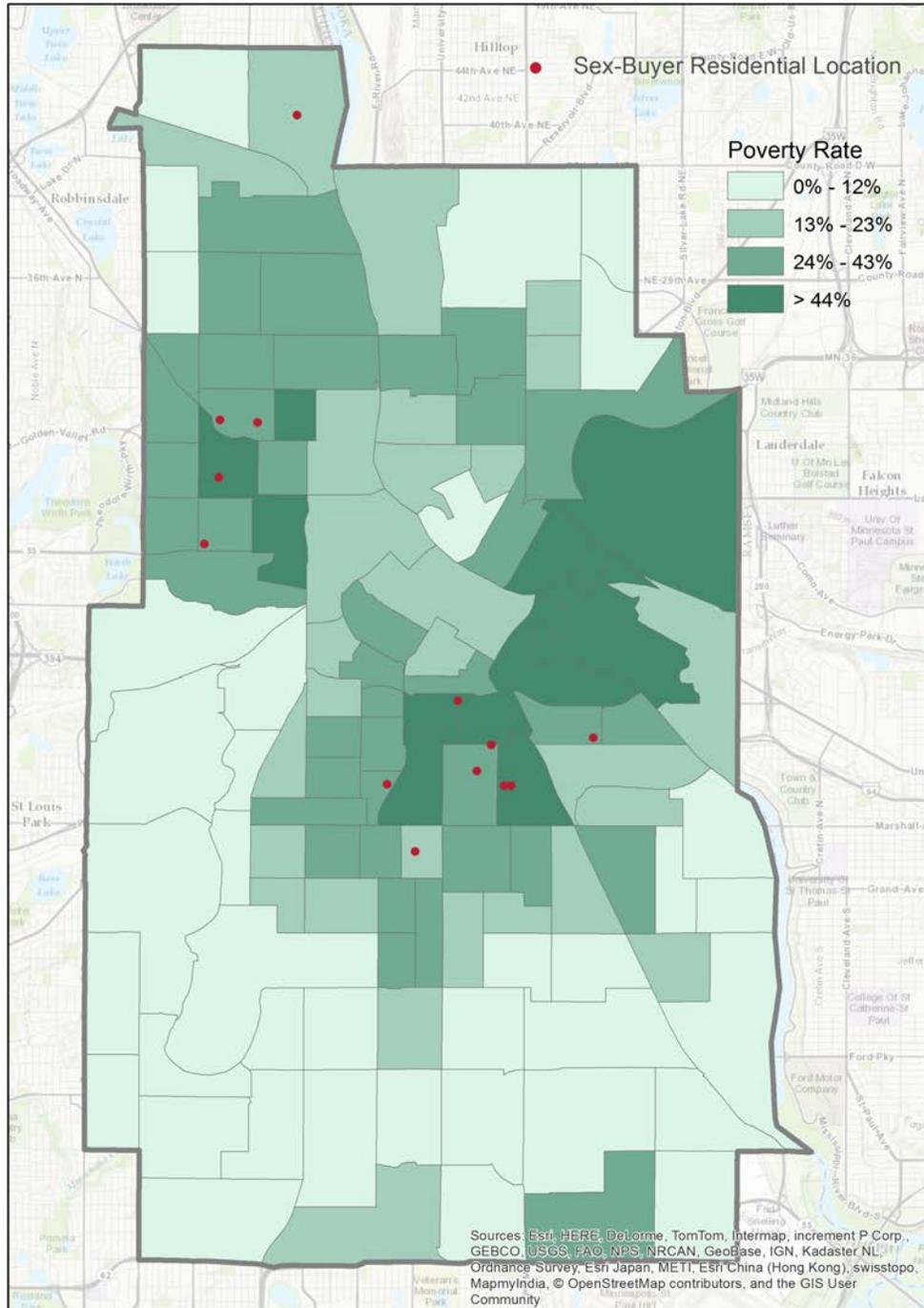
Recruitment Poverty – Minneapolis



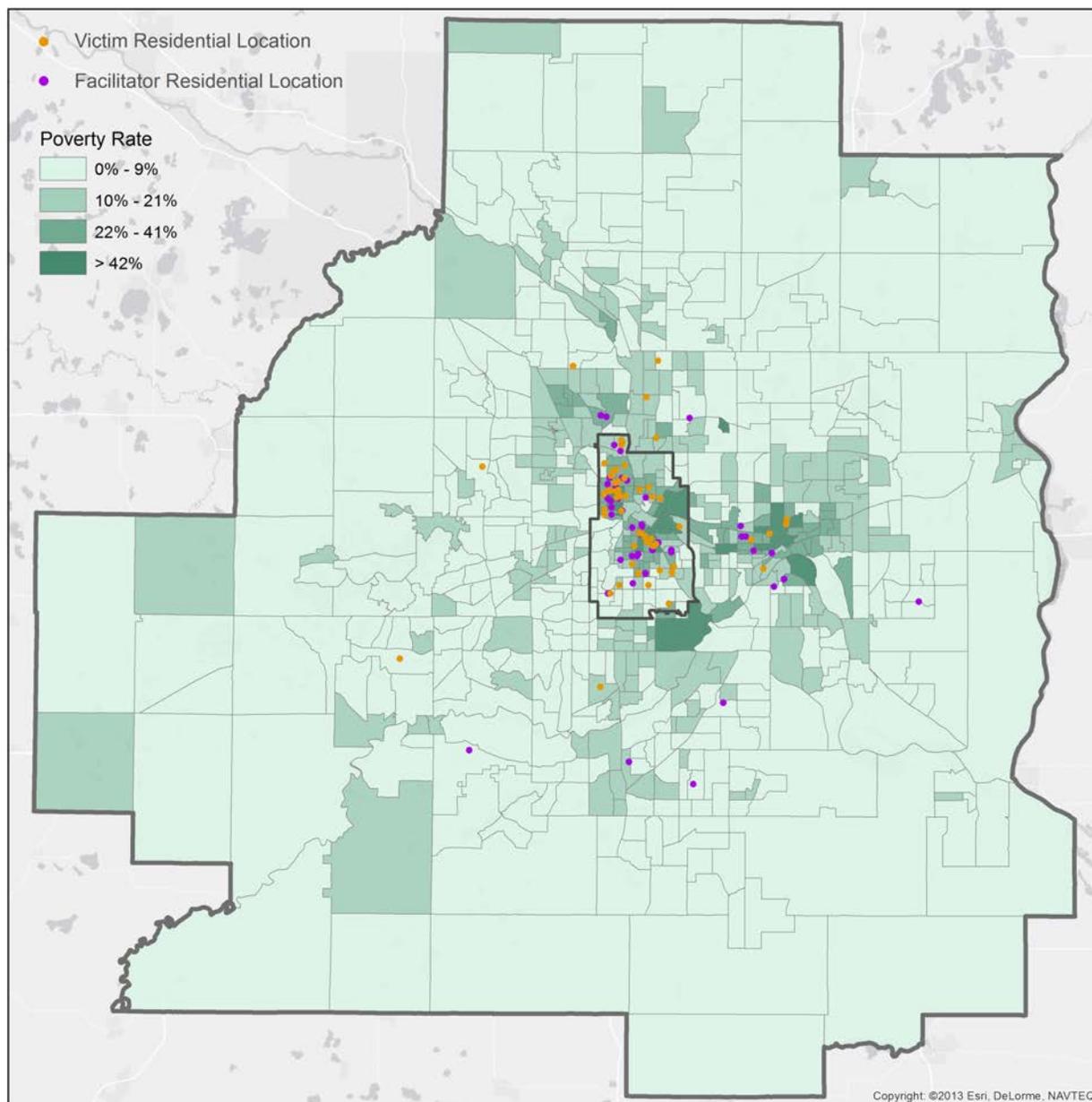
Sex Buyer Poverty – Metro



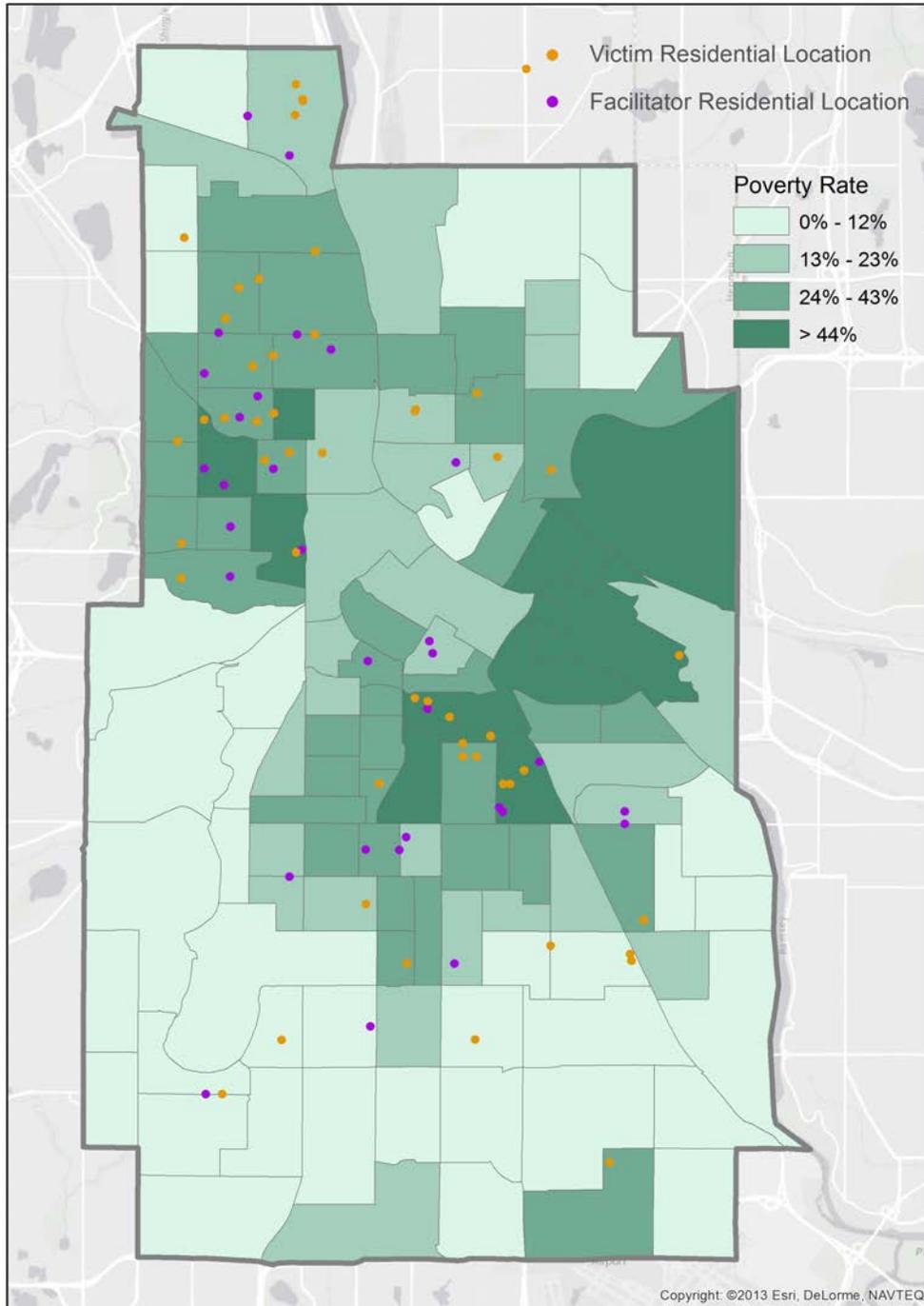
Sex Buyer Poverty – Minneapolis



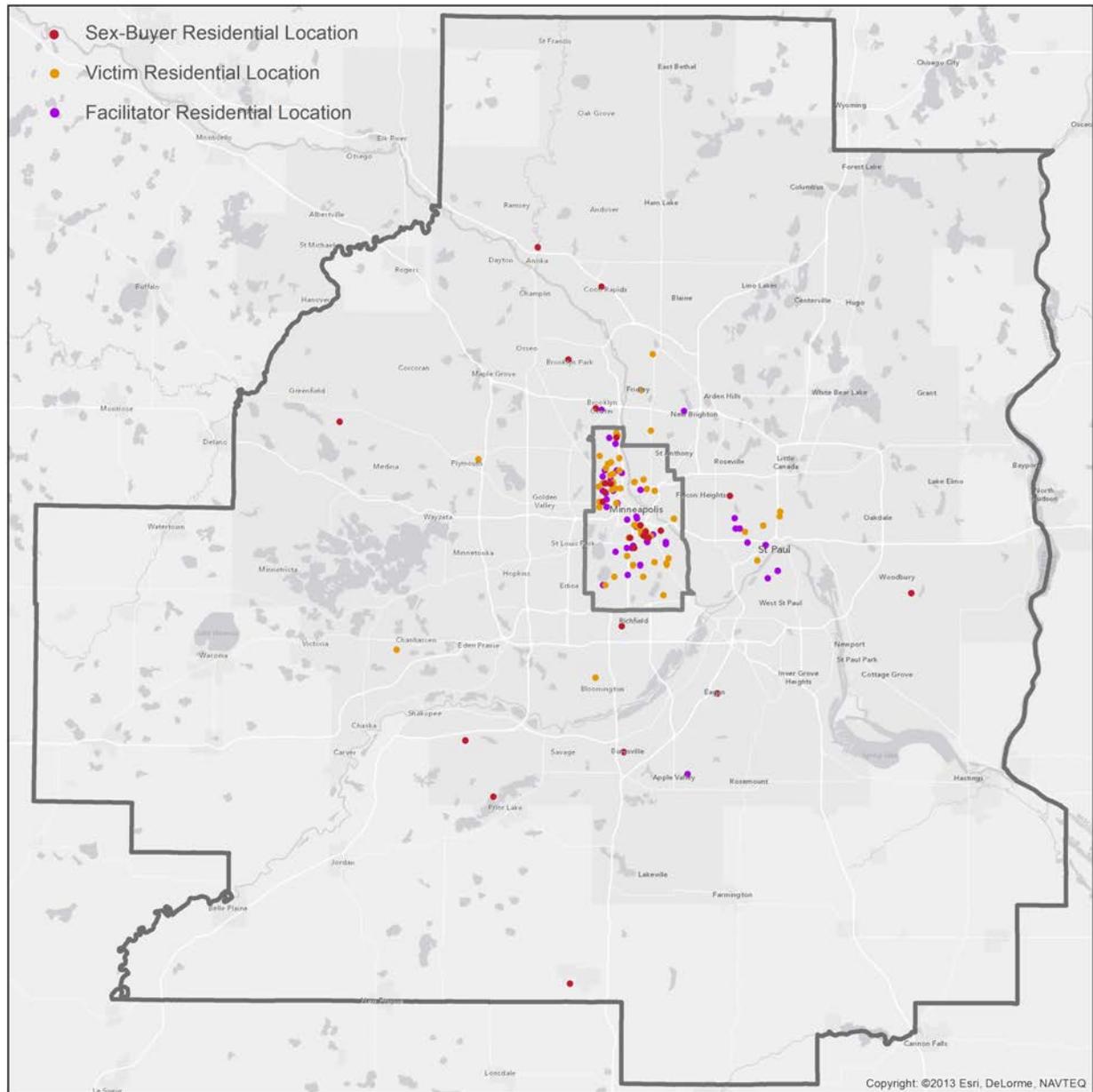
Victim / Facilitator Poverty – Metro



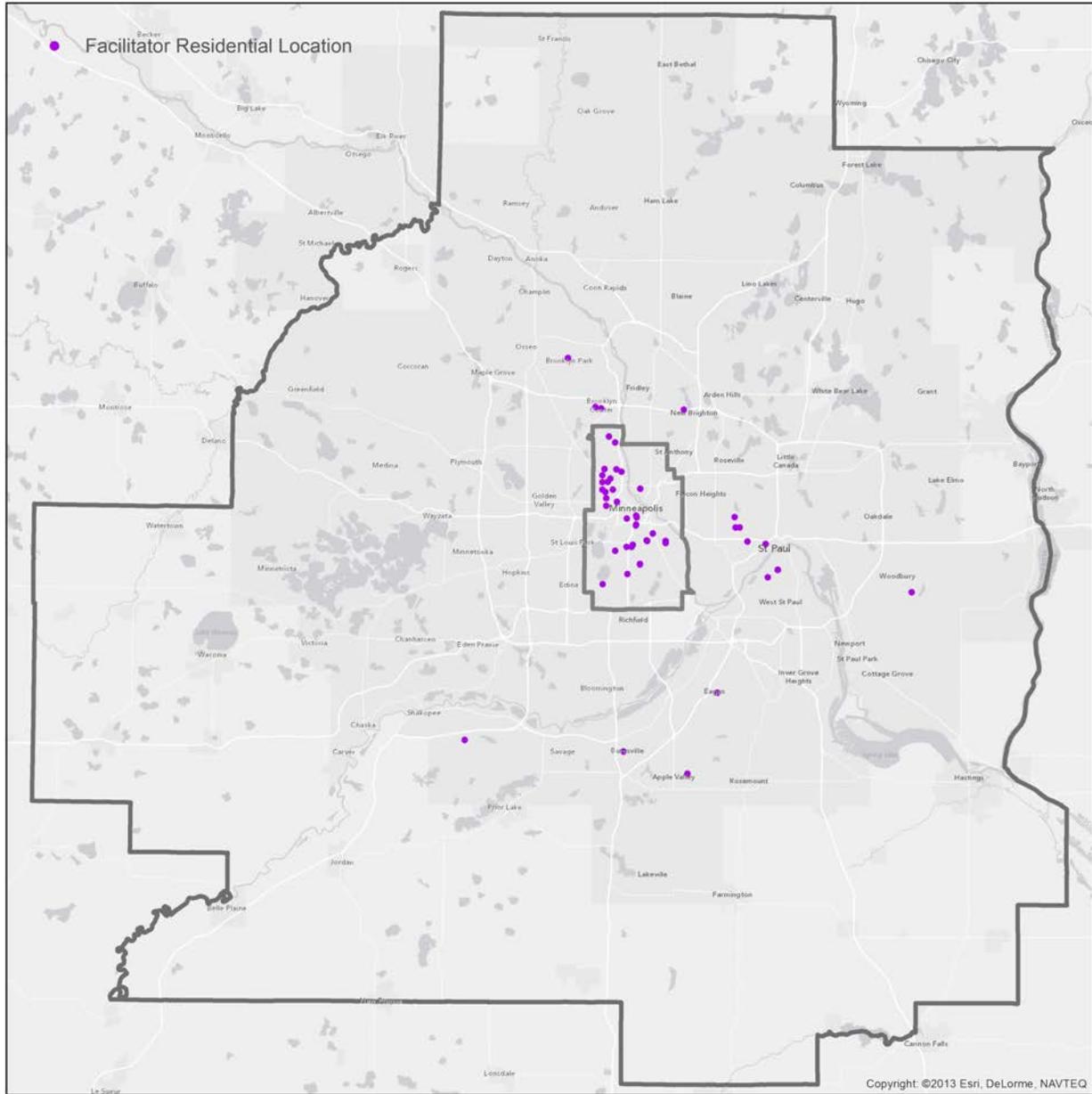
Victim / Facilitator Poverty – Minneapolis



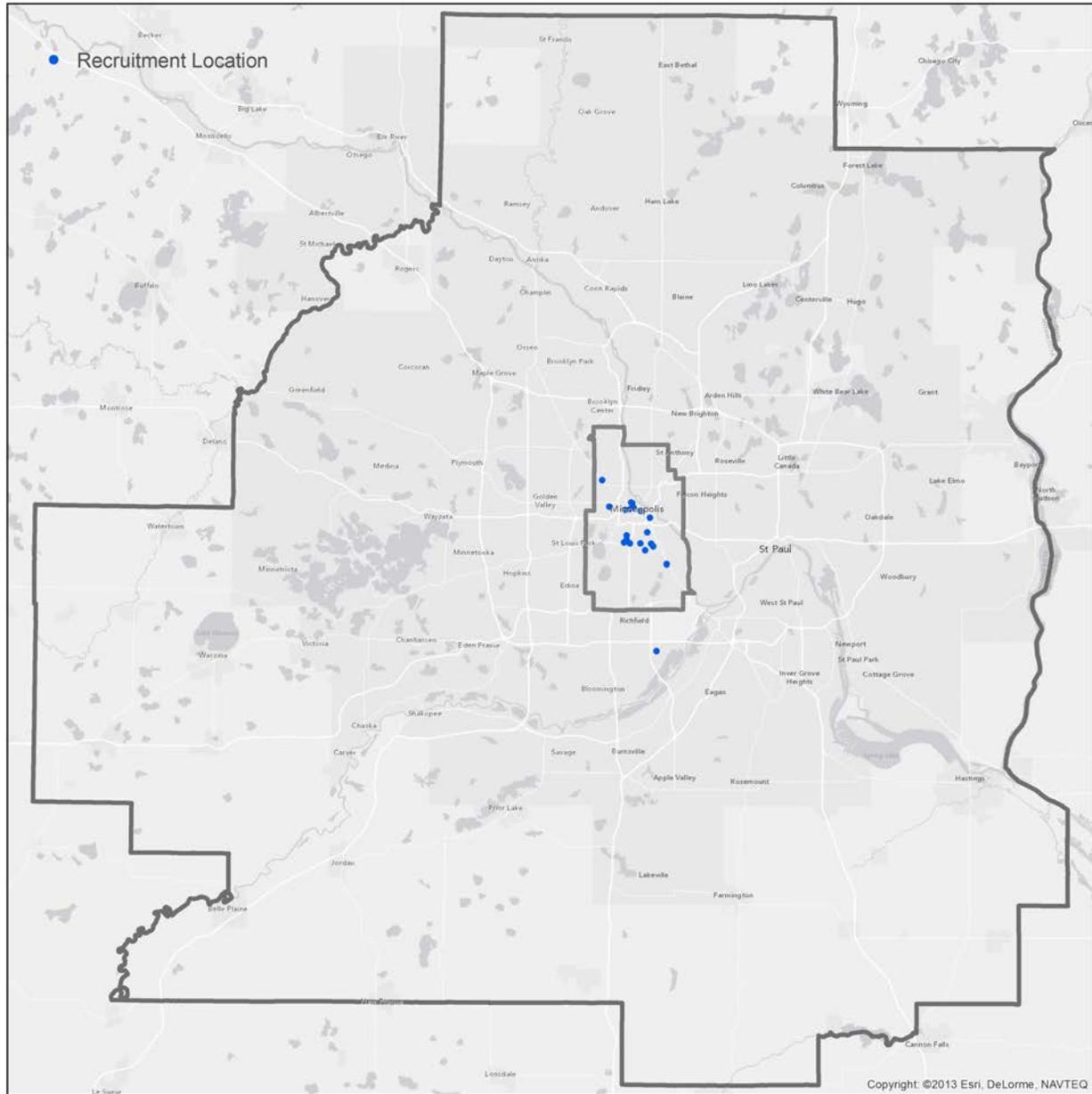
All People Metro



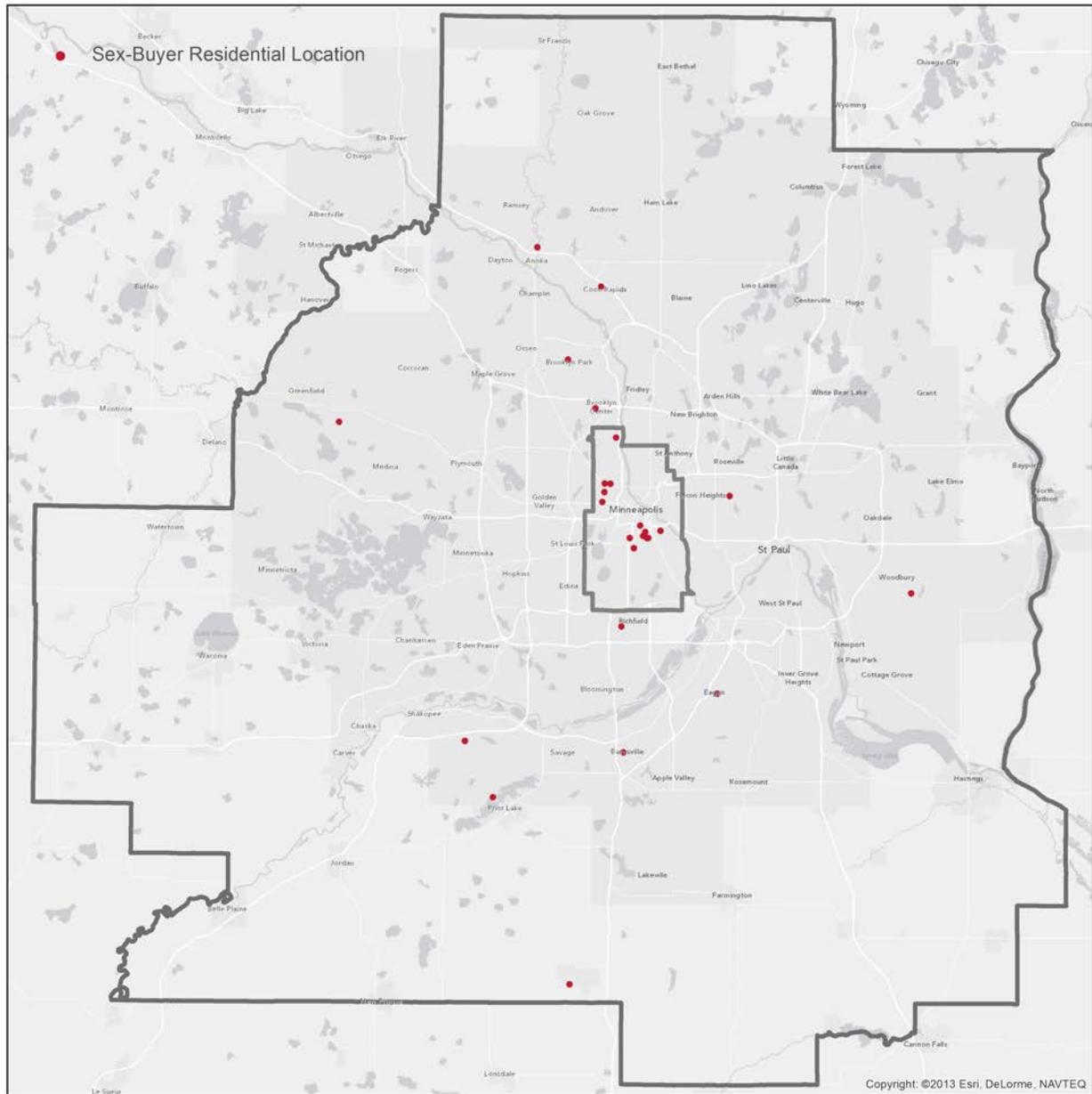
Facilitator Metro



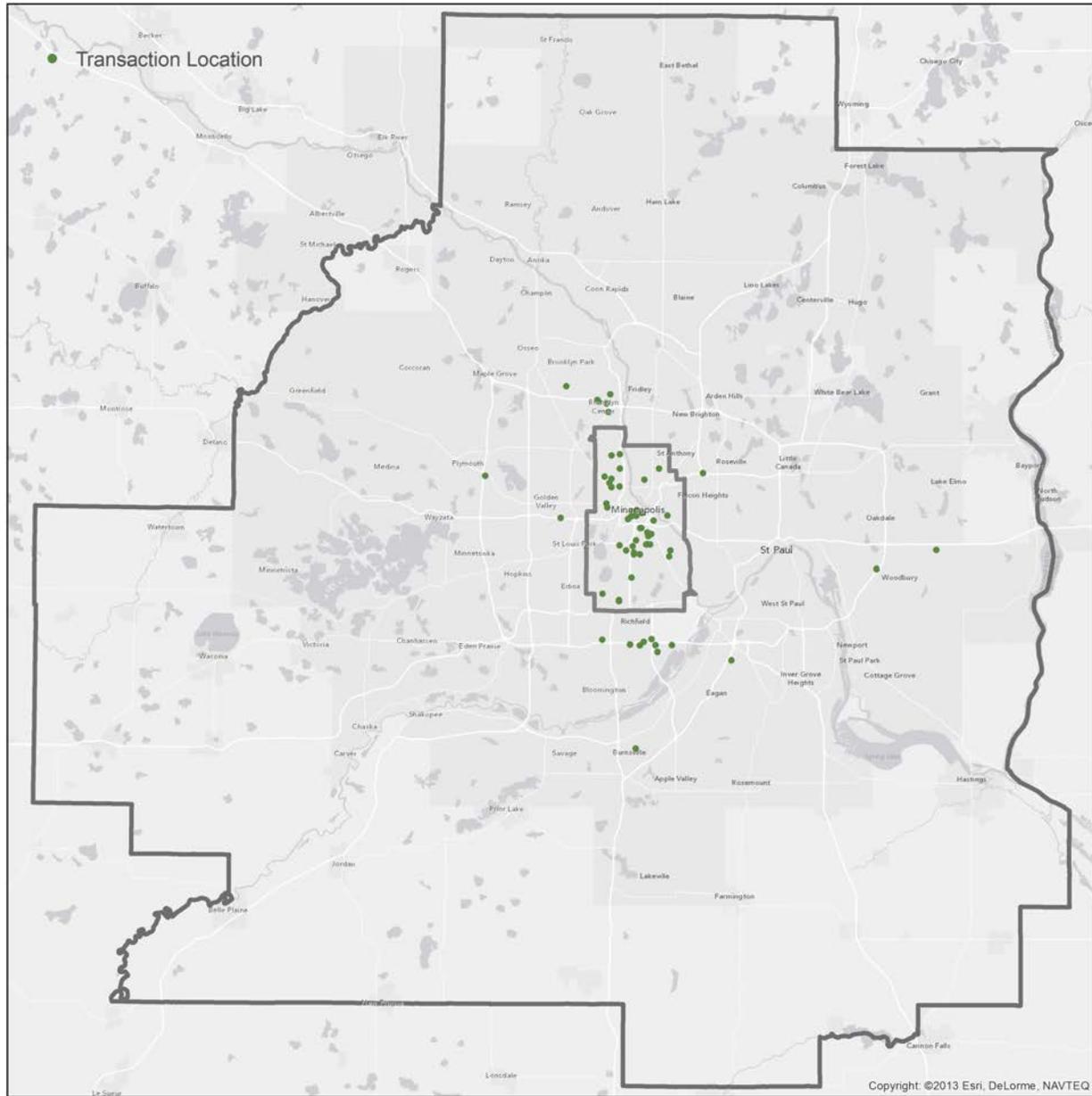
Recruitment Metro



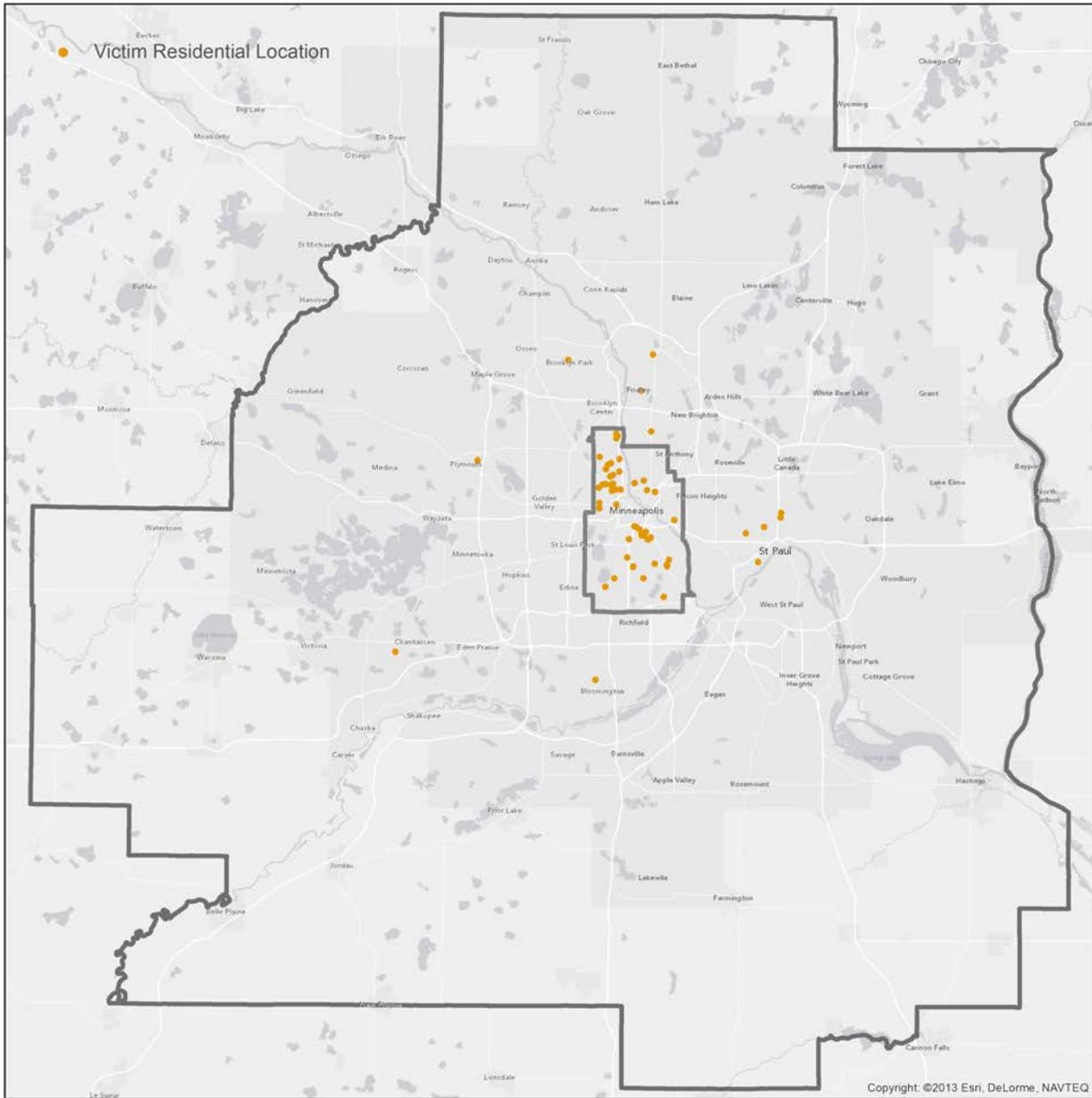
Sex Buyer Metro



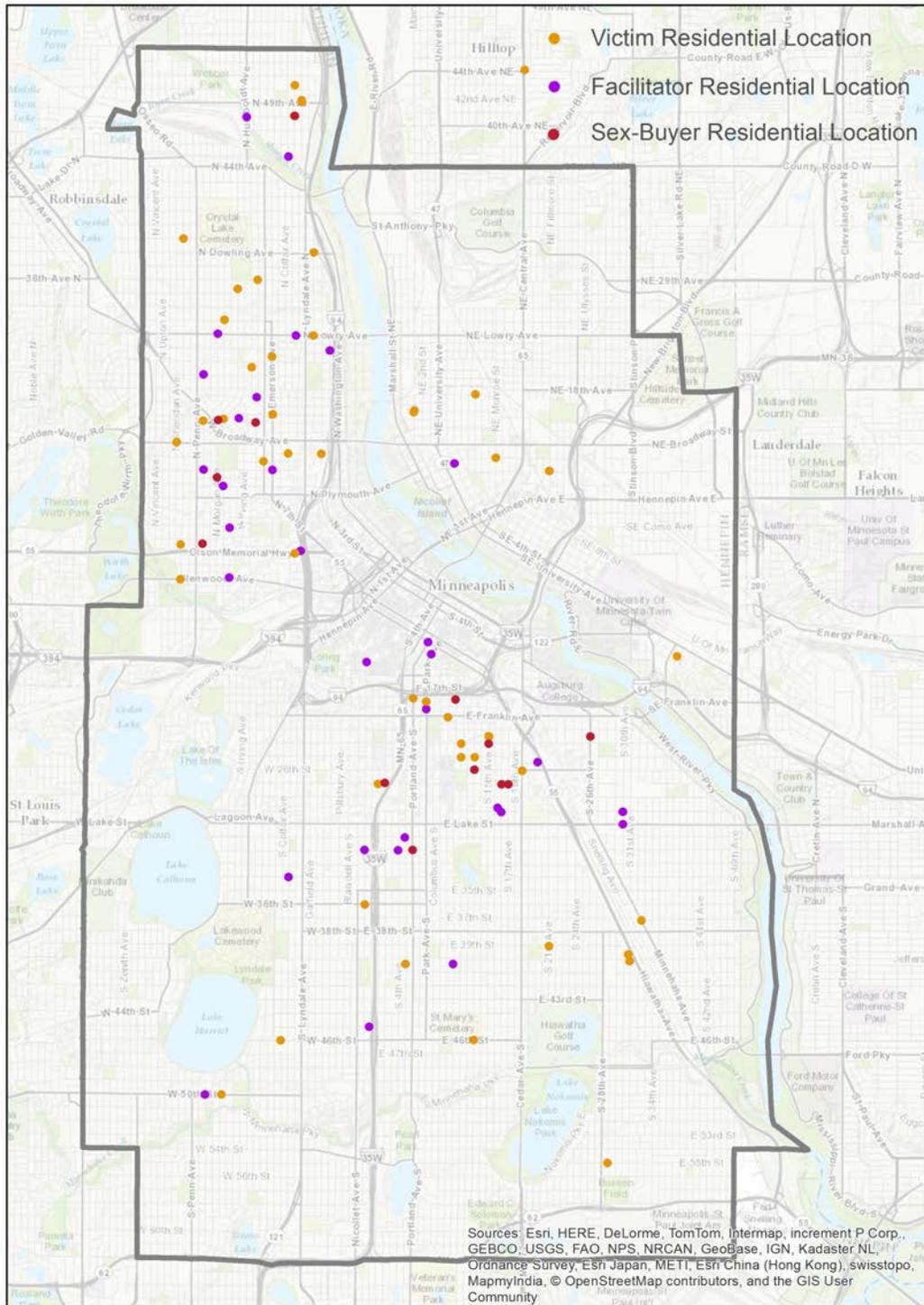
Transactions Metro



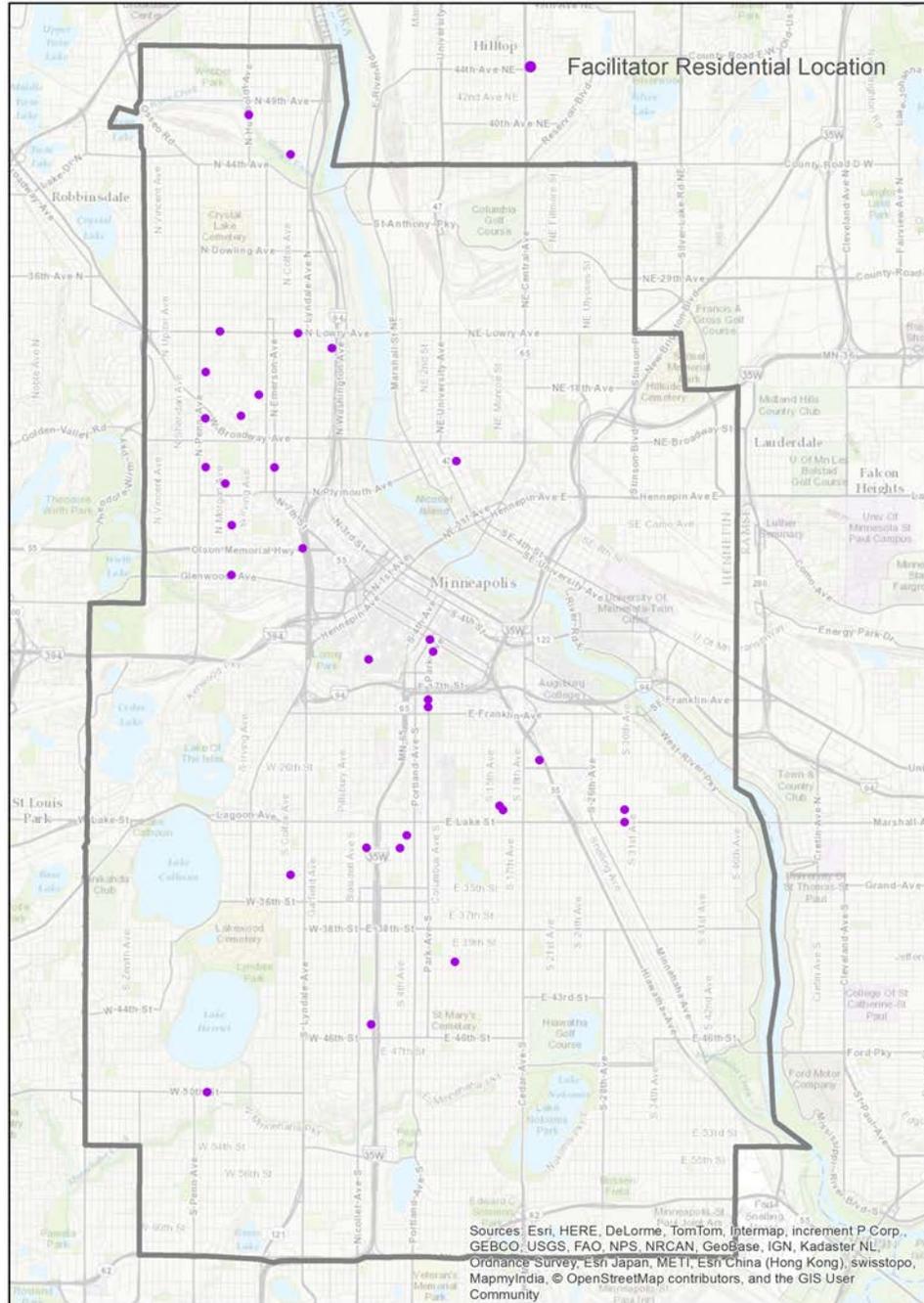
Victim Metro



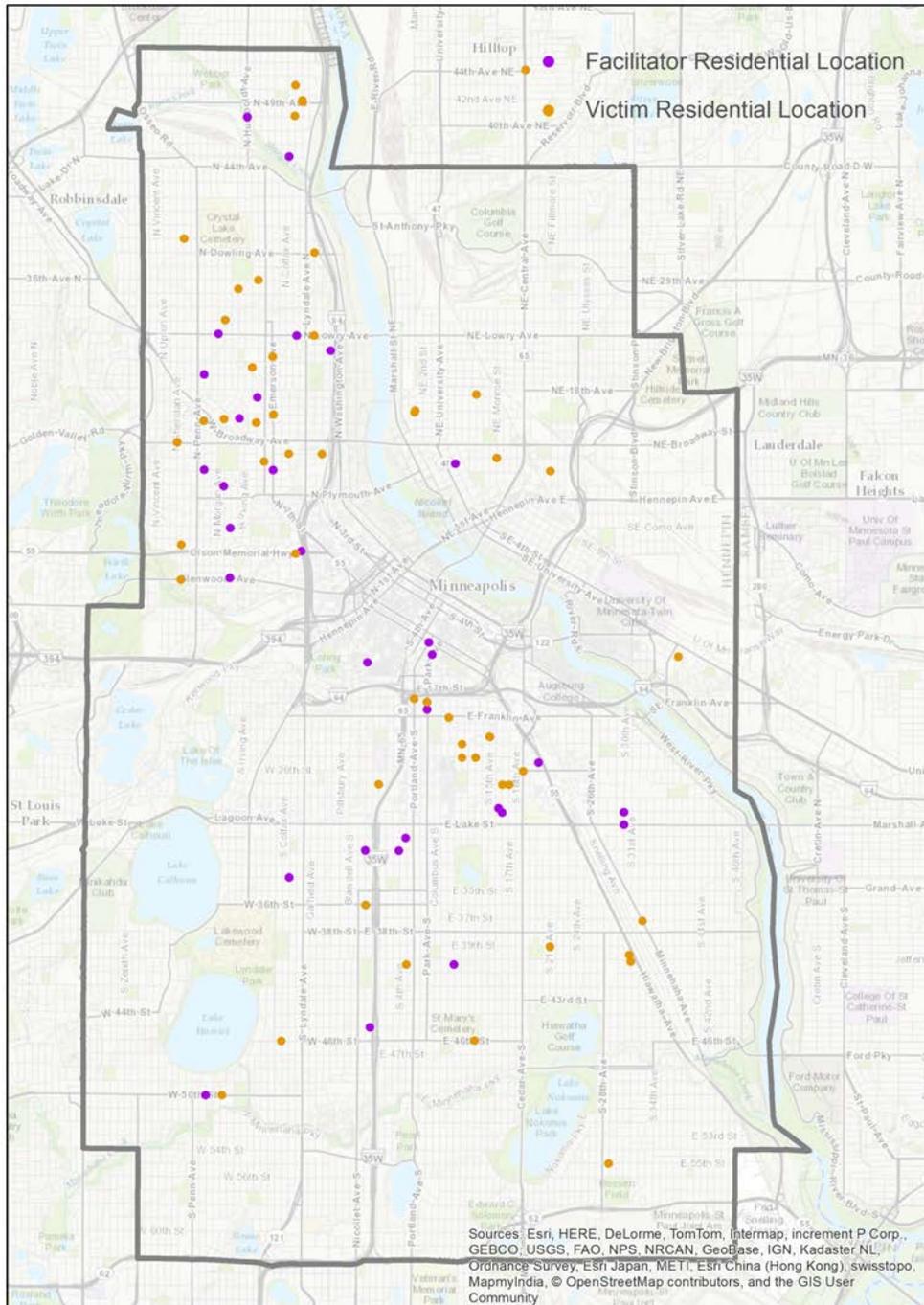
All People – Minneapolis



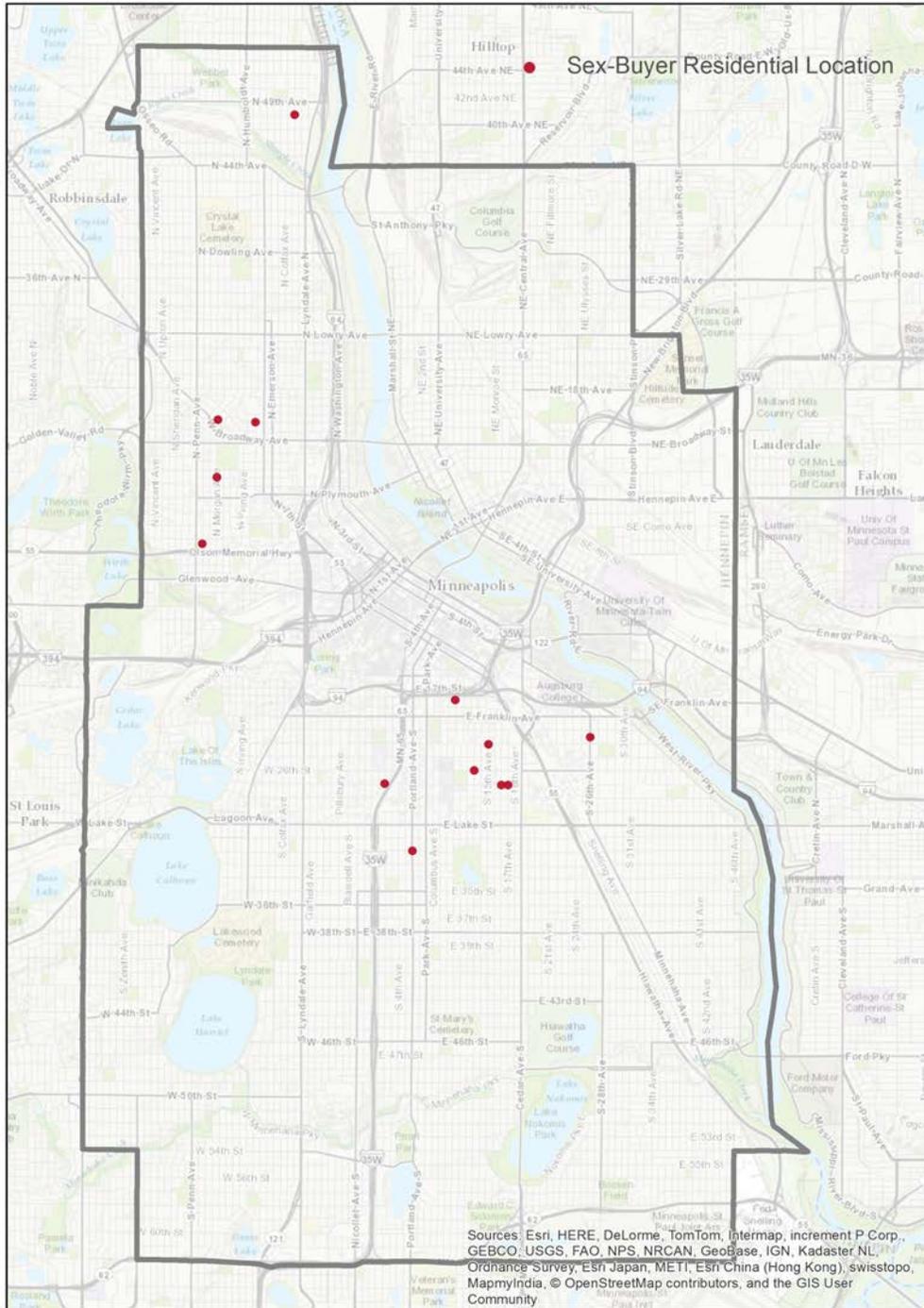
Facilitator Minneapolis



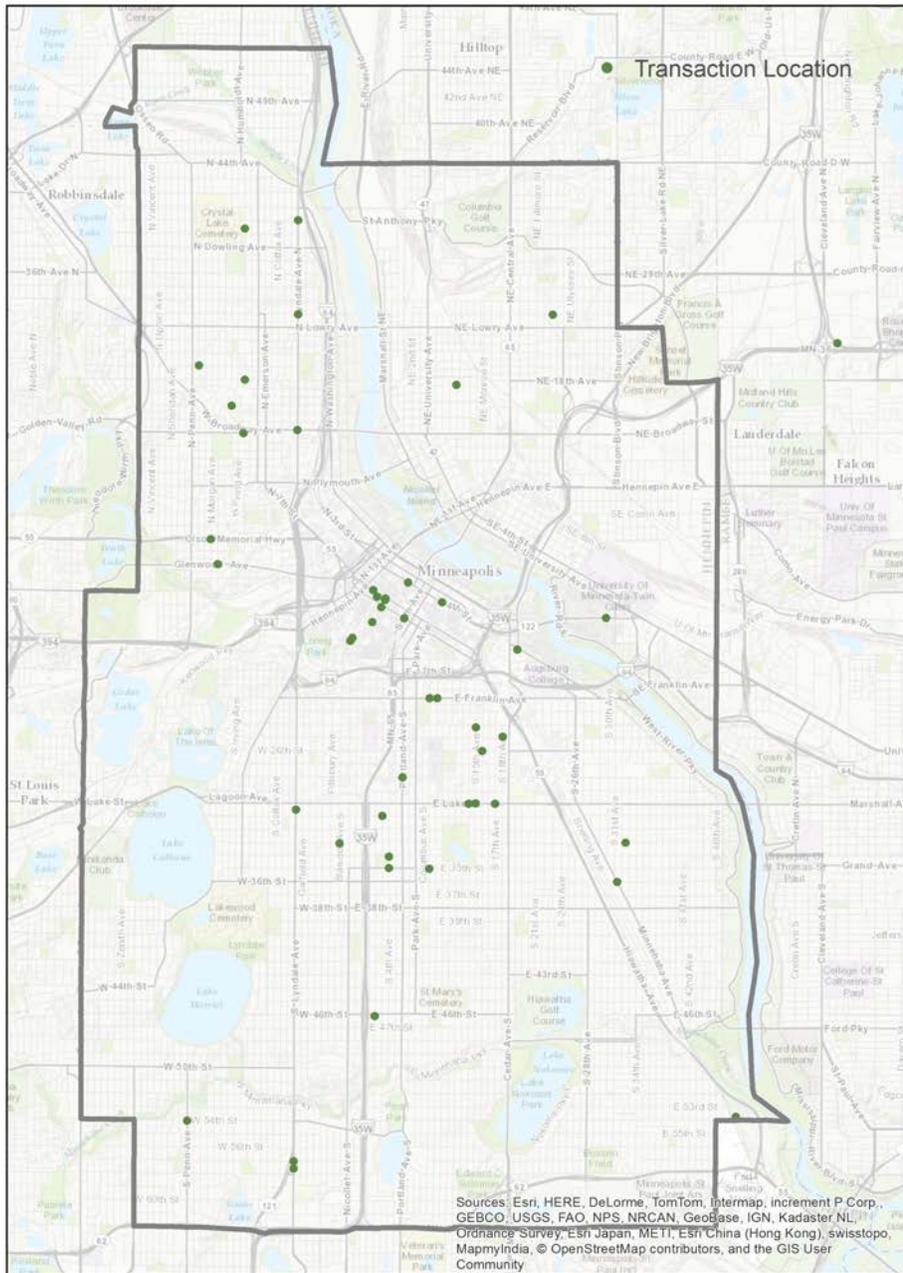
Facilitator / Victim - Minneapolis



Sex Buyers - Minneapolis



Transactions – Minneapolis



¹ “The Hofstede Committee Report: Juvenile Prostitution in Minnesota” (1999), <http://www.heart-intl.net/HEART/080105/JuvenileProstitutionMinn.pdf>

² Office of the Inspector General. (2009, August). Chapter 4: Non-cyber sexual exploitation of children, in *The Federal Bureau of Investigation's Efforts to Combat Crimes Against Children*. Federal Bureau of Investigation. Retrieved from <http://www.justice.gov/oig/reports/FBI/a0908/chapter4.htm>

³ See for example: Pierce, A. (2009). *Shattered hearts: The commercial sexual exploitation of American Indian women and girls in Minnesota*. Minneapolis: Minnesota Indian Women’s Resource Center. Available at <http://www.miwrc.org/?wpdmact=process&did=Mi5ob3RsaW5r>; Martin, L., Hearst, M., and Windome, R. (2010) “Meaningful differences: Comparison of adult women who first traded sex as a juvenile versus as an adult”, *J of Violence Against Women*, 16(11): 1252-1269; Martin, L., R. Lotspeich, and L. Stark, “Early Intervention to Avoid Sex Trading and Trafficking of Minnesota’s Female Youth: A Benefit-Cost Analysis.” (September, 2012). Report commissioned by the Minnesota Indian Women’s Resource Center with a grant from the Nathan Cummings Foundation. p. 1-84.; Saewyc, E.M., Edinburgh, L.D. (2010) “Restoring healthy developmental trajectories for sexually exploited young runaway girls: Fostering protective factors and reducing risk behaviors”, *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 46: 180-188.

⁴ For full text, see the Department of State website <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/10492.pdf>

⁵ See <https://www.revisor.mn.gov/statutes/?id=609.321&format=pdf>, <https://www.revisor.mn.gov/statutes/?id=609.322&format=pdf>

⁷ Advocates for Human Rights. (Feb. 2013). “Safe Harbor: Fulfilling Minnesota’s Promise to Protect Sexually Exploited Youth,” (p. 12), http://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/uploads/sh_2013_final_full_rept.pdf

⁸ <http://www.hubertproject.org/hubert-material/225/>

⁹ Department of Public Safety Office of Justice Programs, (Jan. 2013) “No Wrong Door: A Comprehensive Approach to Safe Harbor for Minnesota’s Sexually Exploited Youth,” <https://dps.mn.gov/divisions/ojp/forms-documents/Documents/12012%20Safe%20Harbor%20Report%20%28FINAL%29.pdf>.

¹⁰ For example, see Celia Williamson & Michael Prior (2009), Domestic minor sex trafficking: A network of underground players in the Midwest. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Trauma* 2: 1-16.

¹¹ See for example: Weitzer, R. (2009). "Sociology of Sex Work." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 35(1): 213-234.

¹² Stringer, E. (2007). *Action Research, Third Edition*. Los Angeles: Sage.

¹³ Our original submission was deemed not human subjects’ protection research. After discovering the depth of information contained in MPD record, we submitted a second application that was accepted under exempt category four, secondary review of data. IRB study number 1408E53022.

¹⁴ Khandkar, S.H. (2009, October 23). Open coding. Paper presented at University of Calgary. Retrieved from <http://pages.cpsc.ucalgary.ca/~saul/wiki/uploads/CPSC681/open-coding.pdf>

¹⁵ Chiricos, T., Welch, K. & Gertz, M. (2004). The racial typification of crime and support for punitive measures. *Criminology* 42: 358-390.

¹⁶ See for example: Dank, M., Khan, B., Downey, P. M., Kotonias, C., Mayer, D., Owens, C., Pacifici, L., Yu, L. (2014), “Estimating the Size and Structure of the Underground Commercial Sex Economy in Eight Major US Cities,” *Urban Institute*, March 12, 2014.

¹⁷ The names of juvenile victims were redacted in the case files we received from MPD. Therefore, it was difficult to identify duplicated victims. Our executive summary states that we identified 79 unduplicated victims. However, since publication of that document we uncovered an additional six duplicated victims. In the interest of accuracy, we choose to include the corrected numbers in this full report. The authors hope this does not cause undue confusion for readers.

¹⁸ Alexander, M. (2012) *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (The New Pres: New York City); Todd Clear (2007), *Imprisoning Communities: How Mass Incarceration Makes Disadvantaged Neighborhoods Worse*.

¹⁹ Chanen, D. (2009, June 7). Minneapolis cops bust “nice guys” sex ring. *Star Tribune*. Retrieved from <http://www.startribune.com/local/minneapolis/47128727.html>

²⁰ See Albanese, J. (2007). *Commercial sexual exploitation of children: What do we know and what can we do about it?* Washington DC: National Institute of Justice. Retrieved from <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/215733.pdf>; Cobbina, J.E. & Oselin, S.S. (2011). It’s not only for the money: An analysis of adolescent versus adult entry into street prostitution. *Sociological Inquiry* 81(3): 310-332. DOI: 10.1111/j. 1475-682X.2011.00375.x; Curtis, R., Terry, K., Dank, M.,

Dombrowski, K., Khan, B., Muslim, A., Labriola, M., & Rempel, A. (2008). *The commercial sexual exploitation of children in New York City*. Report to the National Institute of Justice. New York, NY: Center for Court Innovation & John Jay College of Criminal Justice; and Williamson, C. & Prior, M. (2009). Domestic minor sex trafficking: A network of underground players in the Midwest. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Trauma* 2: 1-16. DOI: 10.1080/193615208027-2191.

²¹ We found a a z-score of -10.5 at a confidence interval greater than 99%.

²² We found a z-score of -3.6 and a confidence interval greater than 99%.

²³ We found a a z-score of 2.3 and a confidence interval greater than 95%.

²⁴ See for example: Milrod, C. and Monto, M. (2012). "The Hobbyist and the Girlfriend Experience: Behaviors and Preferences of Male Customers of Internet Sexual Services Providers." *Deviant Behavior* 33(10): 792-810; Monto, M., and Milrod, C. (2013). Ordinary or Peculiar Men? Comparing the Customers of Prostitutes With a Nationally Representative Sample of Men. *International journal of offender therapy and comparative criminology*. doi:10.1177/0306624X13480487

²⁵ Williamson, C. & Prior, M. (2009). Domestic minor sex trafficking: A network of underground players in the Midwest. *Journal of Child & Adolescent Trauma* 2: 1-16. See footnote 20 for additional sources

²⁶ See for example, Weitzer 2009.

²⁷ Goldman, R. (2009, June 16). Cops: Quadriplegic former District Attorney played "pimp." *ABC News*. Retrieved from <http://abcnews.go.com/Business/story?id=7847499&page=1&singlePage=true>

²⁸ http://www.twincities.com/crime/ci_24877749/st-paul-sex-trafficking-case-record-40-year

²⁹ Rosenblum, G. (2013, July 10). Reasons for female sex traffickers are complex. *Star Tribune*. Retrieved from <http://www.startribune.com/local/east/215007601.html>

³⁰ Gurnon, E. (2012, December 13). Sex-trafficking charges dropped against St. Paul woman. *Pioneer Press*. Retrieved from http://www.twincities.com/crime/ci_24718261/sex-trafficking-charges-dropped-against-st-paul-woman#

³¹ Dyste, L. (2013, June 18). Mpls woman sentenced for promoting prostitution. *KSTP Eyewitness News*. Retrieved from <http://hbispace.com/printStory/kstp/index.cfm?id=3071365>

³² Gurnon, E. (2013, July 24). St. Paul jury sorting out competing sex trafficking claims. *Pioneer Press*. Retrieved from http://www.twincities.com/localnews/ci_23723766/2-men-prostituted-duluth-area-teens-twin-cities